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Groundwork Quietly Being Laid

Will Federal Officials Select All Textbooks?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The most significant hearings on Capitol Hill recently went almost unnoticed in the news. The story boils down to this: The groundwork quietly is being laid for effective federal control of the textbooks and library materials used in the nation's public schools.

That distant and dismal purpose will be denied, of course, by certain members of the House Education subcommittee on *de facto* segregation. It was denied by Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II at the outset of his statement to the committee.

"I have no desire whatsoever to dictate to anyone the content of a textbook or the treatment of a minority group in a school library volume," said Howe. "In our pluralistic society no one person and no government office should make decisions as to what students read and learn. Such a power is wholly inconsistent with the concept of democracy as we know it. The Office of Education does not possess such a power, nor do we seek it."

But having said this, Howe dusted off his hands. He had made his *pro forma* renunciation. The rest of his statement dealt with the "overwhelming need" of Negro children for instructional materials "to which they can relate." And members of the committee made it plain that they wanted Howe's office to possess the power to impose such instructional materials on schools throughout the nation.

Now, the key issue here goes far beyond the immediate problem of doing right by American Negroes in basic readers and history textbooks. Whether deliberately or thoughtlessly, Negro children have indeed been short-changed and neglected. If the committee were thinking of correcting this imbalance by voluntary appeals to the writers and publishers of textbooks, few persons would object.

U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe, left, has denied, but not too convincingly, any desire to dictate textbook content. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) thinks Howe already has some such authority.

But this is not the idea. Despite the pious professions of antipathy to federal control, the hearings make it plain that House liberals are thinking of using the vast power of the federal purse to compel a rewriting of textbooks. They look to the day when a commissioner of education will withhold federal grants from school systems that refused to adopt appropriately integrated and socially desirable books.

Chairman Adam Clayton Powell pointedly told Commissioner Howe that he believed some such authority already exists. Congressman Dominick Daniels of New Jersey voiced the same view. Even Howe himself wanted it understood that "I do not intend to state that we have no power" in this approach.

Two Los Angeles congressmen, Augustus Hawkins and Alphonzo Bell, urged Howe to get on with the job of getting federally approved textbooks in the schools. "I think it would be helpful to get the word out to the states that this is the intent, without telling them what to do," said Bell.

At present, Howe exerts minimal control over the $100 million he disburses annually in the form of grants for textbooks, school libraries and teaching materials. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act flatly forbids him from interfering in textbook choice. Yet Howe several times indicated that he felt his power to withhold funds might yet be used to affect this "very tender issue," and he warmly described the individual grants his office is awarding to approved authors and researchers who will produce books expounding the approved line of the American Negro.

Mrs. Patsy Mink, of Hawaii, at one point implied that the Office of Education could attain the desired end by investing in the direct purchase of textbooks. Chairman Powell did not bother with veiled implications. Looking straight at Commissioner Howe, he hoped aloud that "one of the most important accomplishments of these hearings will be to provide a new and more wholesome image in textbooks of minority groups in America."

On August 30 North Carolina's superintendent of public instruction, Charles F. Carroll, turned up before the committee. His testimony went smoothly until he had the temerity to criticize some of Commissioner Howe's demands that greater integration be achieved as the price of continued federal aid. Congressman John Dent of Pennsylvania and John Brademas of Indiana sharply rebuked him for this attitude. "You're in the 20th Century," snapped Brademas.

The North Carolinian stubbornly insisted that it was not the intent of Congress that local school systems should be organized by a Washington bureaucracy. Ohio's Republican John Ashbrook disabused him of the thought; the whole thrust of recent federal legislation in the field of education, said Ashbrook, has been toward the fixing of federal standards with which the states must comply.

"Well," said Brademas, glaring at Dr. Carroll, "has Congress undertaken to tell you what textbooks you must buy?"

The witness returned a level gaze and a pregnant pause. "To date," he said, "no." And his words dropped on the witness table like clods on a coffin.

This is the way the cold wind blows, and no parent, teacher, educator, or school board member should fail to catch the ominous breeze. North Carolina now depends upon federal aid for 20 per cent of its total school budget. The threat to withhold is a chilling threat. It is remaking North Carolina's schools. This same threat, if it is not averted by public outcry, sooner or later will remake our school books.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● Texas Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, often referred to as a conservative, is apparently getting desperate in his campaign to unseat Republican Sen. John Tower. Carr recently attacked the Americans for Constitutional Action, which has applauded Tower's voting record, as an "extreme right-wing" group. Carr obviously did not know that ACA has also honored a number of Democratic congressmen from Texas. ACA executive director Charles McManus fired off the following wire to Carr: "I challenge you to condemn Texas' great constitutionalist congressmen, John Dowdy, 7th District; Omar Burlesson, 17th District; O. C. Fisher, 21st District; Bob Casey, 22nd District; and Joe Pool, at large, for accepting ACA's awards, endorsement and for having high ACA voting records." Nothing has been heard from Carr.

● Insiders predict that New York's Deputy Mayor Robert Price, who directed John Lindsay's mayoralty campaign, will soon be helping Gov. George Romney in his 1968 presidential bid.

● The white assassin of Dr. Hendrik F. Verwoerd of South Africa apparently did not kill Verwoerd because the prime minister championed apartheid. According to authoritative reports, the assassin opposed Verwoerd because he was doing too much to help the nonwhites and not enough to help the "poor whites."

● On his recent "non-political" trip to New York, President Johnson appeared to be cool toward Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, warm toward Republican Sen. Jacob Javits. The President, on at least one occasion, enthusiastically introduced Javits at length, but had hardly anything to say about Bobby.

● Insiders report that Cliff Carter, the ex-treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, was fired by Lyndon Johnson in order to revive the committee's tarnished image. Disclosures regarding the President's Club, particularly contributions made by stockholders in the Anheuser-Busch Co., apparently hastened LBJ's decision. The new treasurer to be? Supposedly Eugene P. Foley, an associate of Vice President Hubert Humphrey and the present head of the Economic Development Administration.

● Rep. William Bray (R.-Ind.) reports that the government spent $45 million last year on a program to control yellow fever, although the United States has not had a yellow fever death since 1917. However, it spent only $27,500 on a program of rat control, while 14,000 Americans were sickened or died from rat bites. Housing and Urban Affairs Secretary Robert Weaver, when asked by Congress, did not know what agency conducted rat control programs. When told it was the Division of Wildlife Services in the Interior Department, Weaver said, "I think those are rural rats."

● A poll conducted by Market Opinion Research reveals that Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R.-Mich.) is now a slight favorite to beat former Gov. G. Mennen Williams for the Senate seat to which Griffin was appointed in May. The poll, which previously had Griffin trailing, now shows he has 41 per cent of the vote to Williams' 39 per cent. Twenty per cent of the vote is still undecided.

● Dr. J. H. Jackson, head of the nation's largest Negro organization, last week assailed recent "open housing" marches in Chicago as part of a "conspiracy aimed at the destruction of the American way of life." Jackson, president of the 5.5-million member National Baptist convention, also condemned militant "Black Power" advocates. "Any group of people that turns its back on law and order is not working in the interest of freedom," he said.

● Sen. Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.), battling for his political life against Republican Charles Percy, continues to tie his fortune to the Kennedys. Not only will the Kennedy claque campaign for him, but Douglas' newsletter displays a picture of himself flanked by the Kennedy brothers, Teddy and Bobby. Douglas also points out he worked with John Kennedy in the Senate.

● LBJ spent so much time haranguing the opposition during his recent "non-political" speech in Oklahoma that he forgot the ostensible reason for the trip—ground-breaking ceremonies for an ordnance installation at Pryor. LBJ went to the site, delivered a partisan political speech, then departed without ever breaking ground.

● Vice President Hubert Humphrey, who's trying to prove he's popular with the voters, will be looking closely at the Democratic gubernatorial primary in Minnesota this week which pits Gov. Karl F. Rolvaag against Lt. Gov. A. M. Keith. Keith is considered a Humphrey man and his loss would be viewed as another setback to Humphrey's chances to retain the Democratic nomination for vice president in 1968.

● Diplomatic observers say that the United States has let the Red Chinese know that they can come into the United Nations as long as they don't try to force the Nationalist Chinese out.

● Chalk up another defeat for urban renewal—and other federal programs. Last month voters in Hutchinson, Kan., approved 4,933 to 3,307 an ordinance binding the city for 10 years from implementing such federal projects as urban renewal, public housing and rent supplements. The ordinance was put on the ballot using the state initiative-referendum laws.

● Rep. John Saylor (R.-Pa.) reports that nearly 50 separate government agencies are at work on the problem of water resources. "The postmaster general is the only Cabinet member not involved," Saylor adds. "I hesitate to mention it for fear that Larry O'Brien will come up with some reason why he should get in the act." More than 10 years ago, Saylor said, the Hoover Commission identified 25 agencies as concerned with water resources. "Since then we have gained more than one new water resources agency every year until we have almost 50 and I believe there are considerably more than that."

● "Despite attempts by the Administration to underplay the increase in living costs, the upswing is considerably higher than indicated in official pronouncements based on monthly reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. . . . The projection for the full year 1966 is an increase of 3.6 per cent. This compares with an increase of 2 per cent in 1965—a rise in the rate of increase of 80 per cent for 1966 over 1965." So reports the **Christian Science Monitor**.

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LBJ's Tax Hike

Politicos on Capitol Hill regard LBJ's recommended tax hike for business—a 16-month suspension of the 7 per cent tax credit on business investment in new equipment and construction and removal of accelerated depreciation allowances—as only the harbinger of more drastic moves in the future.

Comment in Washington runs along these lines: "He's hitting business now; he'll hit the taxpayer after the November elections." Qualified observers say that LBJ is prepared to hike both corporation and income taxes later on and seriously contemplates wage and price controls.

The business community, most of which helped put LBJ across in November 1964, is highly critical of this Johnson anti-inflation program. William F. Butler, senior vice president and economist for the Chase Manhattan Bank, said: "It is not the best program he could have proposed, because orders already placed will allow capital expansion to go on rising, possibly for another six months. . . ."

Roger M. Blough, board chairman of the United States Steel Corp., remarked: "Current signs point to a turndown in credit. Thus, suspension of the credit now would result in its becoming effective at just the wrong time."

Blough added pointedly: "Immediate relief from inflationary pressures can best come from a willingness on the part of Congress and the Administration to avoid loading program upon program when the economy is already burdened with increasing Viet Nam expenditures and, in effect, thus legislating inflation."

The New York *Times* reported: "Perhaps the most bitter criticism of the program came from a top industrialist who is close to the President. He called the program 'entirely politically inspired.'"

Officials of the nation's airlines—which lost millions in the recent strike—estimate the proposed suspension of the tax credit will cost the airlines approximately $114 million next year. That figure represents 7 per cent of the $1.7 billion worth of new planes the airline industry had ordered for delivery during 1967.

Powell's New Playmates

Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, the powerful chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, appears to have emerged as the new folk hero of the nation's militant black nationalists. "He's becoming the Stokely Carmichael of the House," said one lawmaker more in earnest than in jest.

CARMICHAEL

Announcing plans last week for a National Black Power Conference that will be held in Washington October 15-16, Powell said he intends to do all he can to turn black nationalism into a nationwide movement. As a first step, Powell said he envisioned appointment of regional directors (such as Black Nationalist Ron Karenga of Watts) to push for the election of Negro congressmen and officials, to promote economic picketing and boycotts "in the Harlems and Wattses of America" and to take advantage of the opportunities that come out of his committee.

Powell, who doubles in brass as a Baptist minister, told reporters that black nationalists rejected "nonviolence" and believed in "self-defense." Asked to elaborate, Powell boasted of carrying a Colt Cobra .38 "strapped under my arm." He added that he didn't think all Negroes had to buy guns. "For one thing, they're too expensive. . . . Our karate men from Chicago don't carry anything."

Flanked at his side when he made his statement was Julius Hobson, local leader of the militant civil rights group, ACT, who Powell has selected as chairman of the arrangements committee for October's black power conference. Hobson has repeatedly called for the burning down of local Washington stores and last week revealed his Christian compassion by claiming he was "delighted" with the death of Prime Minister Verwoerd of South Africa. He is also a pal of Jesse Gray, a 5th amendment pleader regarding allegations of Communist activities who has whipped up violently anti-white sentiment in New York.

Powell, with Hobson, has also been fanning the flames of racial discord in the Anacostia section of Washington by branding the Negroes investigating the tense situation as "Uncle Toms."

Powell's cozying up to militant black nationalists was vividly revealed in an earlier black power meeting in Washington called by Powell. Held in the Rayburn House Office Building, the meeting was closed to white visitors. Among those present: Jesse Gray and Julius Hobson. Ralph L. Moss, a Negro moderate who penetrated the meeting, however, later related what went on. According to Moss, the gathering

THIS WEEK'S NEWS

from

INSIDE WASHINGTON

received committee reports and adopted resolutions calling for Negroes to:

- Reject both political parties, form black parties and vote for black people.
- Determine whether capitalism or socialism is more feasible politically for the advancement of black power.
- Reject the unconditional nonviolent theory and practice and accept the right to self-defense.

Moss gave this account of the committee reports: black power should be aimed at communication with the black masses, mobilization of the total black community, stressing the needs of human

With Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N. Y.) at the recent "Black Power" conference are Cecil Moore (left), past president of the NAACP, and John Silvera of New York City.

rights, fighting for self defense and elimination of "Uncle Toms" as leaders of the black communities.

A minority report called for black nationhood. The black man, said the report, should retaliate "eye for eye, tooth for tooth, bullet for bullet." Moss said the minority report was offered by an extremely militant youth faction which included members of the Black Panther party and black nationalists.

Said Moss: "There was evident a great militancy that I'm afraid could lead to greater racial strife and violence."

Nevertheless, these are Powell's new playmates. Thus does this powerful congressmen continue to whip up racial tension in the United States.

Civil Rights Notes

- Observers report that the 1966 Civil Rights Bill stands a very slim chance of passage in this session of Congress because of the reaction against the "open housing" provision and increasing civil disorder. Sen. Everett Dirksen, leader of the Senate filibuster, said last week, "For all practical purposes, the civil rights bill is dead." (See page 6.)
- Stokely Carmichael, national chairman of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has been charged in Atlanta, Ga., for inciting the recent riots in that city. Carmichael, a leading advocate of "Black Power," was also charged with creating a disturbance and his bond was set at $10,500. Atlanta officials considered and rejected the idea of bringing insurrection charges against the SNCC leader.
- Columnists Evans and Novak report that officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare are contemplating an education bill for 1967 that would promote such politically explosive integration devices as school bussing and pupil exchanges between the "black inner city and white suburbs." To achieve these aims, HEW proposes that legislation should be passed which would supply additional federal funds to school districts that achieve an integrated racial balance and would penalize those districts which don't.

LBJ's ADA Consultant

Human Events was wrong in its June 18 prediction that John P. Roche might get a top job in the State Department. As it turns out, Roche, a former chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, has been appointed by LBJ to be a special White House consultant on matters foreign and domestic. The appointment was announced last week after news stories that Eric Goldman, who was considered "the intellectual in residence," had left the White House.

A vintage egghead, Roche, who has already been dispatched to Viet Nam once by Johnson, is expected to have far more influence on LBJ than Goldman. As *Human Events* suggested in its June 18 issue, however, Roche's influence can hardly be considered good.

Though somewhat more realistic than his ADA brethren, Roche is still a far-out liberal. He has vigorously objected to America's bombing of North Viet Nam and he leans strongly toward unilateral disarmament. He has praised the position of P.M.S. Blackett, an Englishman who is a chief spokesman for the unilateral disarmers. Roche says he also tends to agree with Blackett that "the Soviet nuclear power is essentially defensive." He opposes the House Committee on Un-American Activities; he supports Britain's Socialist leaders and he believes JFK "appointed to office the finest and most able group of men and women that the government has probably seen."

In June of this year he joined the "Bosch Lobby"—those who were determined to see Juan Bosch, the extreme leftist leader in the Dominican Republic, return to power. Nevertheless, he's now on the LBJ team.

Asians Cool to de Gaulle

Columnist Joseph Alsop, reporting from Bangkok, Thailand, has revealed in a recent column how wrong Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) and Company have been in their shrill bleats that American intervention in South Viet Nam would make every Asian an enemy of the United States.

The folly of those statements, says Alsop, has been proved in de Gaulle's recent tour of Asia. Instead of rallying to the French leader, the non-Communist Asians are repudiating his major speech in which he called for American withdrawal from Viet Nam.

He has been "sharply condemned," notes Alsop, "by the unusually cautious Japanese; and in every other Asian country not aligned with the Communists, the speech has either been sharply condemned or simply treated as unworthy of comment."

The foreign minister of Thailand, Thanat Khoman,

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says Alsop told him the reason for de Gaulle's chilly reception is that the Asians now believe communism can be stopped in Viet Nam because America was willing to take a stand. Indonesia's anti-Communist leaders, Khoman said, would probably not have stripped Sukarno of power unless the U.S. had intervened in Viet Nam. From Seoul to Manila, from Rangoon to Singapore, says Alsop, there is not only new hope that communism can be blocked, but there is something being done to stop it. And all because of the Viet Nam intervention which Fulbright and his dove-like friends consistently like to criticize.

Demos Fear House Losses

Even Democratic politicos are now convinced their party will lose at least 25 to 30 House seats in November – and maybe even more. Congressional liberals fear such a loss could prove disastrous to the Administration's "Great Society" programs.

BOLLING

"If we were to lose 25 to 30 seats," said Rep. Richard Bolling (D.-Mo.), a leader of the liberal Democratic Study Group (DSG), "we would find ourselves in a legislative stalemate. All you have to do is look at the votes in this Congress to see where you would be. We never had more than 20 to spare." A big loss, he continued, would restore the House to the control of the "conservative coalition" of Republicans and Southern Democrats. (The DSG, which includes approximately 150 liberal Democrats, is considered the driving force in the House behind liberal legislation. An article disclosing its activities and its members will soon appear in *Human Events*.)

A 25-to-30-seat loss, said Rep. John Brademas (D.-Ind.) in an interview in the Washington *Post*, would imperil any new legislation and would mean "stalemate for two years. Everything would come to a dead halt. We not only would make no progress but would go backwards in terms of dealing with such problems as urbanization, poverty and civil rights."

Though the present House lineup is 294 Democrats and 139 Republicans, the votes on major issues have been closer than the lopsided Democratic majority would lead one to assume.

The Administration won the fight to place a liberal majority on the House Rules Committee by just 22 votes; a switch of 25 votes would have killed Medicare; the House repeal of Section 14b of Taft-Hartley carried by just a 23-vote margin.

The rent subsidy and the teacher corps proposals passed the House by only a handful of votes. A switch of 17 votes would have eliminated the "open housing" provision from the House version of the 1966 Civil Rights bill and another switch of three would have blocked the Administration's highway beautification program.

Thus, by relatively small margins has the Administration been able to push through its legislative projects. Hence, too, the reason liberal Democrats fear a conservative resurgence in November.

Fiscal Unfitness Council

A classic method of bureaucratic cover-up has now been revealed in the office of the President's Council on Physical Fitness. Days after there was unfavorable publicity concerning a 20-page staff report, the report disappeared from the council's Washington office. It turned out that it had been removed by no less a man than the council's own director, J. Robert Stewart, a former director of athletics at St. Louis University. Stewart now says that "it's in my home."

Justifying his removal of the material, Stewart explained to a *Human Events* reporter: "There might be something else in it that might look bad. But I'll bring it in—tomorrow."

For two days *Human Events* tried to get hold of the report. First we were told there would be a copy of it that we could pick up at the front office. There was a copy of something, but not of the report we had asked for. Then we were told we could get a mimeographed copy of the original. Finally, we were told there were no copies left except the one in Mr. Stewart's own home.

But removing embarrassing documents is only part of what's wrong with the President's council. Apparently it is also interested in fun-filled pleasure trips and squandering the taxpayers' money. With Mr. Stewart, a zealous advocate of federal intervention into the role of one's physical fitness, at the helm, the council has won House approval of a 50 per cent increase in appropriations—from $315,000 a year to $475,000. Senate approval is still pending.

Anticipating the larger budget, half of the four-man professional staff recently flew to Europe for 12 days at a cost of $1,262.81 to attend an international conference on Sport in Education and Recreation in London and visited officials of various international physical education organizations.

In scheduling a recent staff meeting, notes the Washington Post, staff members decided to "get away from here." So the four members flew to Tampa, Fla., "held their meeting in plush facilities provided by a brewery, and then flew back to Washington the next day—at government expense of about $740."

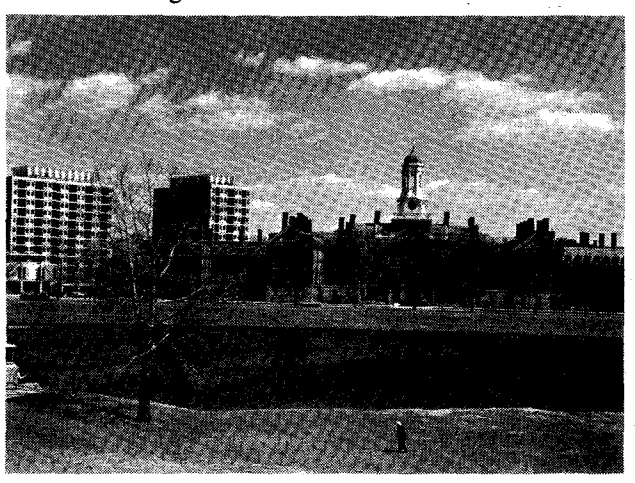
The staff administration is planning another trip to Europe to attend a Paris conference. Stewart recently traveled to Puerto Rico to see a film on physical fitness. Moreover, he's for the federal government spending vast sums to upgrade the health of American men and women. One grandiose idea he has: having the federal government build a giant gym.

Bud Wilkinson, JFK's consultant on physical fitness, ran the show on an annual $315,000 budget. "I thought we had adequate funds to do the job," he insisted. At one point, officials in the Kennedy Administration considered abolishing the council, believing its main project (persuading states to upgrade their physical education requirements) had been largely accomplished.

NSA's Convention

The recently concluded annual convention of the U.S. National Student Association, which claims to represent some 280 member schools across the country, may finally bring on a congressional exploration of NSA's tax-exempt status. Rep. James B. Utt (R.-Calif.), as well as other GOP lawmakers, has previously called for such a House investigation and the August 26-September 3 convention at the University of Illinois has reportedly made him even more determined to push for an NSA probe.

So far out were the resolutions and rhetoric that even *Time* magazine was moved to remark: "NSA's


The far-left National Student Association, despite many withdrawals, is still represented at a large number of universities such as Harvard (above).

politicians judge that the route to relevance and influence is emulation of the New Left."

Here is just a small sample of the positions adopted by this student group:

• On the subject of Viet Nam, the 425 delegates recommended that the United States government cease the bombing in both North and South Viet Nam; halt other offensive military action in the south, such as "search and destroy missions"; recognize and agree to provide economic assistance to an interim "coalition" government in South Viet Nam which must include the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) and other "popular movements."

• The collegians directed the NSA staff to organize and support legal resistance to the military draft and urged the elimination of the Armed Forces Security Questionnaire which the delegates attacked as a violation of civil liberties. (Peace Corps bigwig Harris Wofford told the delegates he favored permitting students to join such agencies as the Peace Corps as a substitute for military service.)

• NSA supported seating Red China at the next meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, its formal recognition by the United States and the opening of trade relations with Mao Tse-tung's regime.

• Another resolution urged the repeal of legislation designed to control the sale and distribution of narcotics and other dangerous drugs. (The poet Allen Ginsburg suggested to convention delegates that LSD chapels should be erected throughout the nation.)

The 1966 convention, moreover, ensured that NSA would continue its leftward bent by electing ultra-liberal national officers. The new president, Gene Groves, a University of Chicago graduate, describes himself as a "left-wing Democrat."

NSA has continued to parade itself as a non-partisan student organization and has received about $600,000 a year from the Ford, Field and Rockefeller foundations, with additional sums poured in from the AFL-CIO and the State Department. Yet it becomes clearer every year that this tax-exempt group is little more than a front organization for the "New Left" and a vehicle for leftist propaganda activities. Hence the belief on the part of Utt and others that an investigation into NSA is long past due.

Brown's Boner

The instinctive reaction of California Gov. Pat Brown is to denounce as "ridiculous" each and every campaign idea of his front-running Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan.

REAGAN

The GOP nominee recently zeroed in on California's soaring crime rate and suggested the creation of a state police academy to train state and local police officers in the latest crime - fighting techniques.

Brown immediately denounced the idea as a "thoughtless affront to those who really understand the problems involved, a campaign gimmick that only serves to illustrate how little [Reagan] understands about the needs of local law enforcement." In a speech at Fullerton, Brown added that additional state funds should be used "to help our excellent local police academies, not channeled into the unneeded and unwanted new state police training facilities proposed by Reagan."

Brown apparently forgot that he had earlier advocated the very institution recommended by Reagan. In fact, Brown's own campaign literature exclaims: "He proposes a state police academy to develop and instruct in newest scientific crime detection methods."

Note: The same leaflet attempts to play down the alarming increase in California crime. "Despite California's relatively low crime rate as compared to other major states, Gov. Brown believes the present trends must be reversed." Actually, California—with 9 per cent of the nation's population—accounts for 17 per cent of the serious crime.

• *House Republicans and conservative Democrats are gearing for a fight on the long-delayed and much-disputed $1.75-billion authorization for additional spending on the anti-poverty program. Due to be considered on the House floor starting September 26, the bill is reportedly in for a rough time because of the mounting scandals in its administration. The recent 16-page* Human Events *special edition, "The Case Against the War on Poverty," gave a detailed account of these abuses. (Extra copies of this special issue are still available for election-year distribution. Five copies, 30 cents each; 50 copies, 25 cents each; 100 copies, 20 cents each; 500 copies, 15 cents each.)*

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Dean Rusk's Answer Confirms U.S. Policy Error in Viet Nam

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

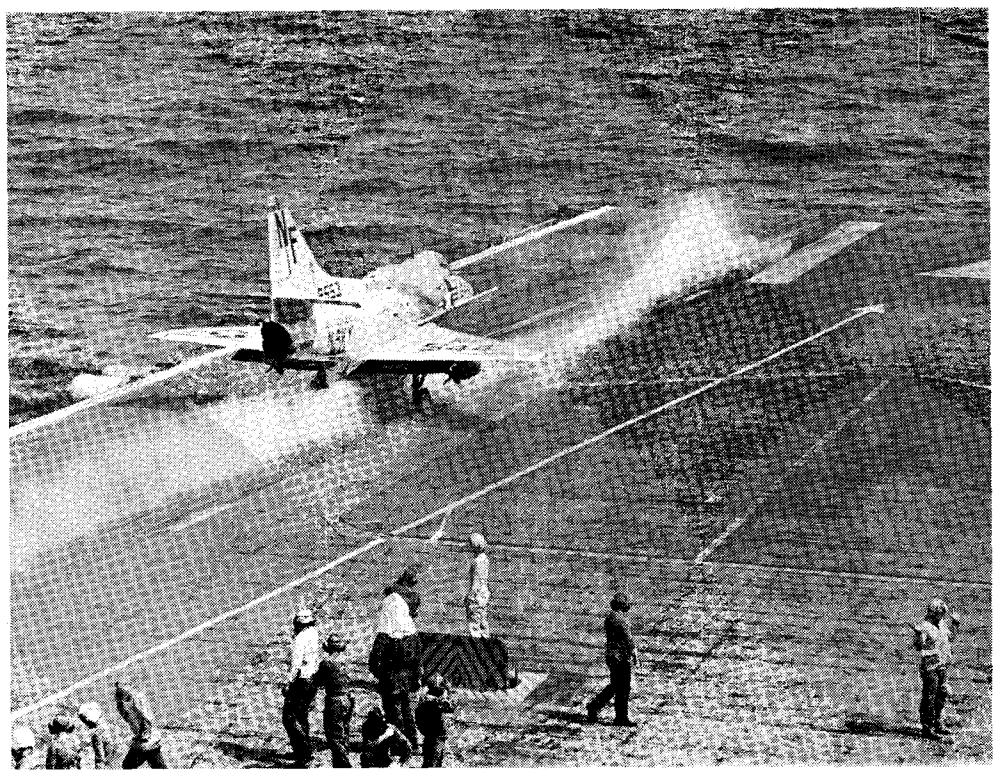
During the appearance of Secretary of State Dean Rusk before the Senate Preparedness subcommittee, Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) referred to the long stalemate in Korea and to the great losses incurred by a policy which denied Gen. Douglas MacArthur authority to use his available forces to win the war. The senator asked whether we are now pursuing a similar policy in Viet Nam.

The secretary responded with a heated declamation on the ease with which we could start a world war which would kill hundreds of millions of people. His reply was widely broadcast on TV news.

Secretary Rusk asserted that the United States is determined to meet aggression with a measured response which would avoid "sliding down the slippery slope of general war." He cited President Truman's response to the Berlin blockade, not with military force but with an airlift as an example of the way war has been avoided. It was a good example.

Secretary Rusk's implication that the use of U.S. military forces to open the autobahn to Berlin in 1948 would have precipitated war with the Soviet Union is utterly preposterous. Anyone who holds so discredited a view of that Berlin crisis is patently unfit to cope with the Viet Nam crisis. He is today repeating history because he has refused to learn from history.

When he closed the autobahn in 1948, Stalin was fresh from his recent triumph in Czechoslovakia. The timid democracies, still addled by their hopes of United Nations harmony, looked like a push-over. Stalin didn't believe they would have the nerve to challenge his closure of the autobahn. He figured that they would negotiate some compromise favorable to his ambitions.



A U.S. Navy A-4 is catapulted off the deck of the USS Ticonderoga during a raid on North Viet Nam. While such raids on the north are better than nothing at all, the fact is we are in a stalemate in Viet Nam, says Gen. Lane.

But if the Americans did respond with force, Stalin would retire. He was much too smart a politician to become engaged in war with a United States which had strategic air forces and atomic bombs capable of destroying all of Soviet industry. He figured that his propaganda campaign against atomic weapons had paralyzed the American will to fight. If he were wrong, a face-saving retreat could always be managed.

Stalin was right. President Truman failed to challenge Soviet authority to close the autobahn and thereby surrendered our freedom of ground access to Berlin. Instead, the United States resorted to a costly airlift which, according to the Rusk strategy, the Soviet Union could have forced us to maintain to this hour and can today reinvoke at will.

Of course the Truman propaganda tried to picture the Berlin airlift as an American victory. It was a fine achievement by American airmen, some of who sacrificed their lives in the effort, but it represented an abject failure of President Truman to protect the American position in Berlin.

This is the kind of strategic failure the secretary now commends and which he has incorporated into U.S. policy in Viet Nam.

The honest answer to Sen. Thurmond's question is: Yes, we are bogged down in a stalemate in Viet Nam. We not only are following President Truman's discredited Korean policy; we are employing the same men to shape Viet Nam policy for President Johnson. Mr. Dean Rusk was assistant secretary of state for the Far East during the Korean War.

Reason compels the conclusion that a larger war is courted by continuing the small war, not by ending it. The secretary seems to believe that by invoking fear of nuclear war he can keep the American people from thinking.

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What Production?

From the Richmond (Ind.) *Palladium-Item*

C. J. Ireland, a Culpepper, Va., farmer, doesn't believe in taking something for nothing, not even when that something is a government handout.

He owns a 1,133-acre farm which has a mountain side on it. Logic would dictate that if the government were going to pay Ireland to bank some of his soil, it would pick cultivated land.

But the Culpepper County Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Committee, which chooses land for the Agriculture Department to put in soil bank, offered him $54.39 an acre to retire his mountain side, Ireland said. He replied that it would be impossible to take the mountain side out of production, since it had never been in production.

It wasn't worth anything and he wasn't going to take a subsidy from the Agriculture Department. He said it would be a waste of the taxpayers' money.

The department said it would look into Ireland's complaint about the subsidy.

It might not be a bad idea for the department also to check and see how many other mountain sides and swamps and holes in the ground it is paying to keep out of production.

Everybody Wants Good Wages

By REP. O. C. FISHER (D.-Tex.)

A wage-fixing bill, with inflationary overtones, gained final approval last week. Often misnamed a "minimum wage," this legislation actually becomes a going wage for most of those it directly affects.

The AFL-CIO, a chief sponsor, has always contended that by pushing up the "minimum," the higher wage levels, not directly affected, will automatically advance. Another unconcealed motive of the unions is to make it less attractive for industries to locate in the South —including Texas—where the cost of living and of production is lower than in the union-dominated, high-wage industrialized East and North.

It goes without saying that everyone likes to see good wages paid. But under our free enterprise system wage levels are supposed to be related to productive capacity of the worker. Yet certain union leaders and politicians maintain that by forcing wages upward they can thereby force more prosperity.

This theory is both unsound and tragic. By forcing wage levels up to $1.60 an hour ($1.40 Feb. 1, 1967; $1.60 Feb. 1, 1968), there will undoubtedly be tens of thousands of the fringe—or less productive—wage earners laid off.

The legislation will force a good many smaller businesses to close down. Many others that stay open will reduce their work forces to offset the increase in cost of production, as decreed by the Congress.

Despite grins of triumph on the faces of certain lawmakers who were induced to vote for this wage-fixing legislation, there is a guilt complex mixed with it. After all—the member must answer: Who am I to tell Mr. X, a shopkeeper on Main Street, how much he *must* pay his employes? Can it be that the merchant (who is beseiged with debts, high taxes, high interest, mounting upkeep, government controls and a hundred other things) is better able to make that decision, than is a politician 2,000 miles away?

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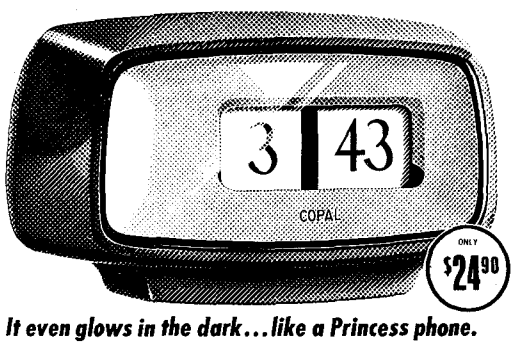

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Administration Lacks Votes

Civil Rights Bill Likely to Be Shelved in Senate

From the Allen-Scott Report

There is a very real possibility that the House-passed civil rights bill will not get out of the Senate.

As of now, this measure is headed for eventual shelving.

The Administration presently does not have the votes to impose cloture, two-thirds of those on hand. Without cloture or an agreement to permit action, the bill has no chance of getting anywhere. The Senate, which took the bill up on September 6, will be tied up with it for at least the rest of the month.

The Administration is doubly vulnerable on this legislation.

Not only is it unable to muster enough support to invoke cloture, but it also doesn't have the votes to win approval for Title IV, the crucially decisive "open housing" provision.

Even the House's watered-down version is still short of a majority.

A backstage head-count by the Administration disclosed that eight Republican votes are necessary to put over Title IV. With Sen. Everett Dirksen, GOP floor leader, continuing to insist he is flatly against any housing section on the ground it would be unconstitutional, the prospects for gaining the vital Republican backing are dim.

In fact, they are not promising even if Dirksen should change his mind—as he did on the public accommodations section of the 1964 civil rights bill and thereby broke the Southern filibuster.

Senior Republicans such as Senators Bourke Hickenlooper, of Iowa, and Roman Hruska, of Nebraska, leaders in their own right with personal followings, are just as adamant against "open housing" as Dirksen claims to be, and might refuse to go along if he flip-flops. They have gone their own way before, and could do so again.

Both Hruska and Hickenlooper have made no secret of their outrage at outbreaks of Negro violence, looting and lawlessness in their states.

While Democratic and Republican opponents of "open housing" are menacing the chance of the civil rights measure, its fate is also being threatened by a bipartisan die-hard group on the other side of the fence.

They are saying they want all-out "open housing" or no bill at all.

Foremost in this group are Senators Philip Hart (D.-Mich.), Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) and Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.).

They have had a series of strategy conferences with Atty. Gen. Katzenbach and Clarence Mitchell, NAACP lobbyist. A spokesman characterized their position as follows: "We feel it would be better to have no bill at all than one without a strong Title IV." If they really hold tc this stand, that's exactly what may happen.

All this explains why Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield privately shrugs his shoulders when asked about the likely outcome of this legislation and says cryptically, "Well, if we don't get it through this year, we'll try again next year."

What he carefully does not mention is that next year's Congress probably will be far different from this one.

* * *

Definitely slated to be another stormy issue in this explosive Senate battle is a demand for legislation aimed at the growing insurrection in the streets of the nation's cities—rioting, burning, looting and even killing in the name of civil rights.

So far, little has been said publicly by senators about the need for effective measures to enforce law and order, but privately there is strong bipartisan feeling that such deliberate violence is not only criminal but outright rebellion.

There has been much backstage conferring on how best to strike at this spreading evil. Amendments for that purpose will be offered. Their nature cannot be disclosed at this time. The aim will be to go further and hit harder than the amendment sponsored by Rep. William Cramer (R.-Fla.), and approved by the House.

It strikes at the inciting of outbreaks by individuals crossing state lines.

A powerful factor in the mounting feeling among senators that a halt must be called to this sinsiter situation are the incendiary statements of Stokely Carmichael and other "Black Panther" and "Black Power" leaders. Certain to be cited in the coming Senate debate is Carmichael's defiant statement, "I don't know what they think they will accomplish by building stores with no windows. It just means we'll have to move from Molotov cocktails to dynamite."

Note: Real power behind Carmichael, 24-year-old native of the West Indies, is James Forman, 38, former Chicago schoolteacher who has masterminded most of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's operations. It was Forman who early this year deposed John Lewis as head of SNCC because he balked at going along on the "Black Panther" and "Black Power" strategy. Forman stays in the background, but he is the real ruler of SNCC. He turns on and turns off Carmichael and other militants.

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Cambodian Ruler Plays Footsie With Ho Chi Minh and de Gaulle

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Is Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, half playboy, half patriot, really going to recognize the Viet Cong as the government of South Viet Nam? Will he seek to negotiate a "frontier agreement" with the Viet Cong representative, Nguyen Huu Tho, and if satisfactory, invite the Viet Cong to keep a "representative" in Phnom Penh? Going further, will he invite Ho Chi Minh in person to visit Cambodia?

Thus are urgent questions that rise from a reading of the Prince's 90-minute monologue, which he called a press conference, on August 19.

Punctuating remarks with frequent "ha ha's," Sihanouk explained in great detail the reason for his further swing toward those Communists who, given a chance, would take Cambodia in one swallow: the South Vietnamese government of Marshal Ky and his American "imperialist and neo-colonialist masters" are trying to infringe on Cambodia's sacred territory by modifying the existing frontier.

Behind all this, of course, is the question not only of certain contested offshore islands but of the Ho Chi Minh trail. The Cambodian-Vietnamese frontier has never been well demarcated. Sihanouk claims that the South Vietnamese and American maps deviate from the provincial maps fixed among themselves by the former French governors.

This discrepancy may account for the recent dispute about whether certain villages bombed by the United States are part of Viet Nam or of Cambodia. Actually, it makes little difference. Everybody familiar with the current struggle knows that for many years Prince Sihanouk has been ingratiating himself with Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung by allowing the former's soldiers to use Cambodian territory.

Cambodia has been almost as great a Red sanctuary as the Ho Chi Minh trail in Laos.

Now the Prince is seeking confirmation of his map from those whom he has steadily allowed to violate what he considers his territory. His long-winded explanation was full of melodramatic phrases and self-pity.

He warned his countrymen that his "choice" of the Viet Cong was dramatic and even tragic. "We are running a great risk."

He is soon going to Paris to undergo treatment for sleeping sickness. "I am a lover of suicide. If they [the Americans?] eliminate me, I shall be glad because the work I am doing at present is not gay at all. Since I am a Buddhist, suicide is prohibited." (He should tell the Vietnamese Buddhists about this.) "But if they assassinate us, we shall ascend on to the path of Nirvana. I am a lover of death." (Very touching.)

Before he goes to Paris or to Heaven, however, the Prince hopes Phnom Penh will have been the seat of one or more attacks on American Asian policy by President de Gaulle, which will presumably be made before these lines appear.

All this explains, at least to me, Sihanouk's flat refusal to receive Ambassador Harriman until after de Gaulle has lectured us on the wickedness and futility of our attempt to resist Communist expansion in Asia. The Prince is counting on the impression the famous Frenchman will make, particularly in the United States. For make no mistake, Sihanouk is as convinced as Mao and Ho that the fate of South Viet Nam will be decided, not in Saigon or even Hanoi and Peking, but in Washington.

What is more, this commentator agrees with him.

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HUMPHREY and KENNEDY
Morrie Ryskind has some thoughts on the political fortunes of Vice President Humprey and Sen. Robert Kennedy (D.-N. Y.).

A Winning Ticket for the GOP

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I have always thought myself an exemplary reactionary, completely unmindful of the plight of others. I have never hesitated to beat my wife when she crossed me, and sometimes have done so for the sheer heck of it. At birth, both my children were thrust naked into a raging snowstorm and were taken back only because, after a week, they managed to survive.

It is my practice to kick stray dogs and I have consistently fought for the restoration of child labor, slavery and the guillotine. My hero is Simon Legree and my favorite heroine Marie Antoinette.

But pride goeth before a fall and I now discover, to my utter dismay, that I have an Achillean heel after all.

The cries at the Wailing Wall of that GOP minority known as Moderate Republicans have been so piteous of late, and their direful plight so played up in the communications media, that I find myself, like Ebenezer Scrooge, somewhat hesitantly lending a sympathetic ear.

In case you don't know what a Moderate Republican is—and I've asked myself that question often—it's a fellow who is only moderately Republican—about 10 per cent. The other 90 per cent of him welcomes the Welfare State as enthusiastically as any liberal Democrat.

The sect has just held a conclave, the results of which account for the dreadful lamentations now filling the air. Theirs is the eternal tragedy of a minority unable to impose its will on the majority.

In state after state primary they have witnessed the shameful spectacle of conservative GOP candidates triumphing over moderates by sheer force of numbers. One man, one vote, they feel, is a principle that should not be carried to extremes.

If, they warn, the great Republican majority adheres to its basic tenets and nominates a conservative in 1968, the moderates will once more sit on their hands and the GOP lose heavily again. But if the majority who stuck by the party in 1964 will forget principles and yield the reins to the defectors, the party can make a comback. If we are to have a welfare state, why not let Republicans run it?

Well, it's an argument. And though, like the rest of the 27 million faithful, I couldn't care less under whose auspices we finally liquidate the Republic the men of '76 gave us, I hereby extend a helping hand and offer what should prove a winning 1968 ticket. Even though I have a fishing date and so don't promise to vote for it.

For President: Robert Kennedy. The latest polls show he is now leading LBJ among Democrats, but practical politics decrees he cannot run on that ticket in 1968. But with a united Republican party nominating him and millions of Democrats crossing over, he'd be a shoo-in.

For vice president: Hubert H. Humphrey. I devoted a column recently to Hubert's extraordinary qualifications for this job, where he can be kept quiet. The Demos would undoubtedly also nominate him—and Hubert would thus be certain to stay in the post where he can do the least possible damage. Sen. Javits will just have to wait.

Nor should the convention overlook making recommendations for other important posts, to be filled by distinguished citizens of unassailable integrity. This would win over some fence-straddlers who might otherwise find it difficult to cast a GOP ballot.

How about a pledge to make Linus Pauling our chief of staff? To give the first vacancy on the Supreme Court to Howard F. Corcoran, the famous jurist who tried to prevent a House committee from investigating our pro-Viet Cong activists? And to make Louis Lomax, who silenced five right-wing programs on a radio station, head of the FCC?

There is a winning combination that would not only sweep the country, but restore American prestige in Hanoi, Moscow and Peking, where it is now at an all-time low.

And, in addition, it would serve the highly useful purpose—long the aim of the moderates—of driving the conservatives out of the GOP forever. What more do you want?

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VERY FUNNY—Brentano's, the nationwide chain of bookstores, just announced its clearance sale of less-than-best-sellers. Included, and this is an exact quote from the catalogue: "*The Johnson Wit*. . . . A recent collection of his rapier wit and wry humor as expressed in political campaigns, press conferences, exchanges with friends and opponents, his duties as President. Published at $3.00—Only $1.00."

Communists Don't Rely on Numbers

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

If one goes by numbers, the past couple of years have been disastrous for the Communists. A U.S. State Department report notes significant declines in the membership of the Communist parties of West Germany (where there has been a loss of 40,000), Mexico (a 44,000 shrinkage), and Iraq (a 13,000 decline). The outlawed party in West Germany limps along with an estimated membership of 10,000, which is paltry, and the badly split Mexican party is down to 5,000.

The biggest setback to the Communists, of course, has been the almost total obliteration of any organized movement in Indonesia, where the party was outlawed in early 1966 after several months of large-scale killing of party members and a wholesale execution of party leaders.

In Africa, the Sudanese Communist party was outlawed in 1965, Ghana rid itself of the Nkrumah incubus, and the Algerian Communists lost face and influence with the fall of Ben Bella's government.

The Communists still maintain a position of strength in the Brazzaville-Congo, where 700 Cuban soldiers, the gift of Fidel Castro, have turned up to help train a "people's militia." But Maoist communism, which is a close relative to the Fidel Castro variety in spite of official differences in their relations with Moscow, has not been doing very well in Africa of late.

Altogether, according to the State Department's report, official Communist party losses in non-Communist countries have been close to two million in a single year. The decline comes to 42 per cent, which reduces a 1965 membership of 4.5 million to 2.6 million in 1966.

No doubt all this can be taken as an extremely encouraging development in the cold war. But the West should be warned that a numbers game estimation of Communist effectiveness can be just as deceptive now as it was in the early days of the collapse of the Romanoff regime in Russia.

When Lenin and Trotsky returned to Russia, they had few "numbers." Lenin, it should be recalled, was never a proponent of mass parties; he depended on a rigorously trained inner core of dedicated professionals who were willing to wait for decades if necessary to take advantage of a collapse in law and order.

The relative unimportance of numbers has been astutely underlined by Cuba's Fidel Castro, whose recent 26th of July speech set the tone of the 4th Congress of Latin American Students that has been holding its sessions this summer in Havana.

The point of Castro's speech was that both official Communist numbers and explicit Marxist ideology must come last, not first, in any successful revolution. For the visiting students, Castro set forth the proposition that the first order of business for radical intellectuals is to spread disaffection with capitalist establishments. Castro called for any "action" that might help prepare the soil for revolutionary awareness.

Speaking of his own success in Cuba, he said: "We would be in a nice fix if to make a Socialist revolution we had to catechize everyone with socialism and Marxism beforehand." In short, what Castro is asking of the students is general hell-raising, not immediate Communist indoctrination. Castro's advice boils down to one word: "cheat."

In their efforts to impugn the motives of the United States in pushing the Vietnamese war, the Communists can rely on disaffected intellectuals to do a far better propaganda job than any card-carrying Communist party organization could possibly do.

When an aged and crotchety Bertrand Russell forgets every principle of traditional Anglo-Saxon justice to set up a stacked "tribunal" to "try" President Lyndon Johnson, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk as "war criminals," it hardly matters that he doesn't ask the backing of either English or American Communists. It is enough that the "court" will be captained by Jean-Paul Sartre, the French existentialist, and his faithful Simone de Beauvoir, who are impenetrable to logic and hate America simply because it is America.

With such things as Lord Russell's ideas of "justice" commanding the front pages of Western newspapers, why should the Communists be concerned about the size of their official party membership? They are getting their stupidities about "imperialism" across without numbers.

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FAIR PLAY—*Rally* magazine reports that a San Francisco disc jockey has the perfect answer for Vietnik performers who refuse to pay 60 per cent of their income tax because it goes for national defense. The DJ now plays Joan Baez records through only 40 per cent, then removes them from the turntables.
—From the Arizona *Republic*

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Papercare

From the Dallas *Morning News*

While admissions of elderly patients under the Medicare program have not reached flood proportions, another phenomenon has occurred—a landslide of paper work.

Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York City has hired 42 extra clerks costing about $200,000 a year just to process Medicare claims. A hospital director in Sacramento, Calif., peering from behind a mountain of forms, comments, "There is a great love of paper work on the part of federal bureaucrats. The more pieces of paper, the more they love it."

Social Security headquarters quickly leaps to its own defense, explaining that "proper accounting is necessary." In true bureaucratic tradition, it has sent teams into the field to explain the forms that explain the illness which explains the charges on the patient's bill. The result is, not surprisingly, miles of red tape.

You were expecting maybe adhesive tape?

□ □ □

TAX HIKE COMING—Sen. J. Williams (R.-Del.) predicts there will be a tax increase but says President Johnson "isn't going to ask for it until after the election" in November. The Delaware Republican, a member of the Senate Finance Committee, said the President "hasn't got the courage" to tell the nation his plans for a tax hike before election day. Williams, a veteran economy advocate, promised that he will greet the President's request, when it materializes, with a demand that Congress put first things first by cutting government spending.

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Can You Explain This, Gov. Brown?

Prof. Lewis Feuer, who has left Berkeley after nine years, delivers a scathing indictment of the university which Pat Brown says has no real problems.

An angry article in the September issue of *The Atlantic* magazine could figure prominently in California's heated gubernatorial campaign between Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown and Ronald Reagan.

Written by Prof. Lewis S. Feuer of the University of California at Berkeley, the article is a devastating exposure of the turmoil on this troubled campus and provides ample ammunition for those in the Reagan camp who charge that Gov. Brown, who heads the University's Board of Regents, is abysmally ignorant when he only ho-hums about Berkeley's rampant radicalism.

If nothing else, this document should sweep away any lingering illusions that the disorder at Berkeley has been produced by only the spirited hi-jinks of youthful students.

As Prof. Feuer reveals, the harsh fact is that this multi-million-dollar institution, supported by California's taxpayers, has become a sanctuary for amoral, criminal and Communist elements. So oppressive are the strident students and faculty agitators that after nine years of teaching philosophy and social science at the university, Prof. Feuer has felt impelled to flee to quieter surroundings at the University of Toronto.

How, asks Feuer, "has freedom fared in the aftermath of the famous Faculty *Resolution of Dec. 8, 1964, 'that the* content of speech or advocacy should not be restricted by the university'?. . . .

"What has happened in Berkeley during the past academic year has been in large part a consequence of that faculty resolution. For it in effect created a moral vacuum in the heart of the university. It founded an enclave which cancelled the limits of any previously defined freedom of speech; on the University Plaza, with the university's microphones and amplifications, students were to be allowed to advocate and plan any sort of political activity, legal or illegal, violent or nonviolent.

"Though the regents tried to safeguard the situation with provisos about constitutional limits, the moral effect of the overwhelming faculty vote was decisive. The university enclave was unique in the United States, the only one in which for all practical purposes political authority was excluded, for both the university and the civil powers renounced their responsibilities.

"On the one hand, the administration was morally bound by its faculty to refrain from all restraint over speech; on the other, the civic powers by long custom and usage were reluctant to enter the student terrain: they did not understand it; they feared it, and they felt it to be the university's business. Thus Berkeley began a most unusual experiment in unrestrained advocacy."

Feuer points out that an avalanche of non-students poured down upon Berkeley as a result. Already thriving, the "non-student colony" was reinforced as the news swiftly traveled about the "Discovery of Freedom in California." Tired radicals, pseudo-intellectuals, Castroites, Maoists, Muscovites and sexual reformers expounded their creeds by the Sproul Steps microphone.

The New York *Times* estimated there were 2,500 non-students in residence. Some were in flight from stark personal tragedy, such as the functionary of the Viet Nam Day Committee who a few years ago had fled New York after murdering a seven-year-old child.

At first the faculty bridled at the idea of the non-student, whom Feuer describes as someone with "no job, no calling, no vocation; he is a guerrilla fighter against society, whether he calls it the Establishment, the Power Structure, the System or the Protestant Ethic."

But some of the faculty soon became willing to battle the university to ensure the "right" of the non-student to dominate the campus.

Into this heady atmosphere stepped the new and affable chancellor, Roger Heyns, who, says Feuer, believes in the "ethics of adjustment," and, accordingly, adjusted. Heyns decided to solve difficulties between the administration and the students by appointing as his special assistant on student affairs Associate Prof. John Searle, who, it developed, had actually egged on both students and non-students alike in their anarchic adventures.

As the chancellor's assistant, Searle helped to arrange the fall elections in which about a fifth of the students voted. "Abetted by this apathy and one of the most cumbersomely devised ballots in the history of voting, the Communist student leader was elected to the rules committee, and acclaimed herself as the first American Communist to be elected to public office in many years." (The student was Bettina Aptheker, self-proclaimed Communist and daughter of Marxist theoretician Herbert Aptheker.)

But the student representatives even began to turn on Searle because they looked upon him as part of the power structure. Indeed, according to Feuer, students stole files from him at one meeting and abused him in other ways. A leading faculty activist was finally moved to remark: "Searle has been reviled and called a 'liar,' his personal files have been rifled, and all this without a word of protest from our student leaders."

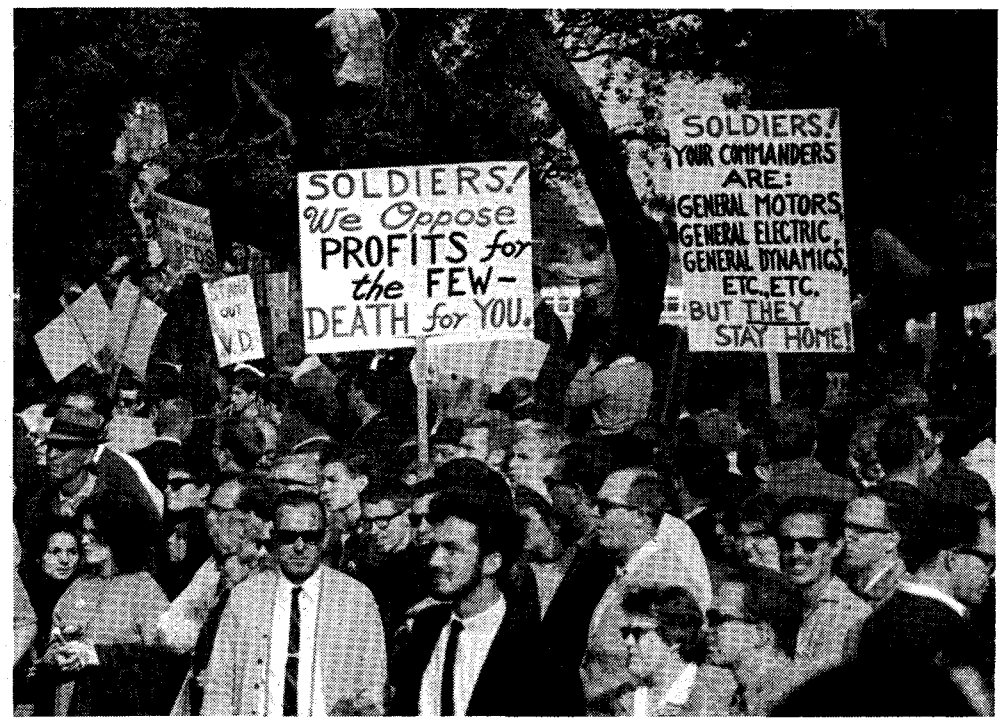
But such condemnation did not deter the students from further guerrilla operations. In January 1966, says Feuer, "Chancellor Roger Heyns became probably the first university head in America to be taken to task by a county grand jury for condoning 'the deliberate violation of criminal laws' on the campus."

The Alameda jury charged that the Berkeley campus had become the "primary base" for violations of the law, and a "staging area for unlawful off-campus activities," such as the attempts to interfere with the passage of troop trains through Berkeley and Emeryville in August 1965. It cited 34 specific instances of such use of the university's facilities.

The New Left, embellishing its new morality, also embraced a "cult of thievery." "The Maoist group," Feuer writes, "was most vociferous of all in boasting about its achievements in shoplifting, but others shared its dishonor. This cult of dishonesty has been developing gradually in Berkeley.

"Three years ago the head of the New Left student party, Slate, was found guilty of stealing from a bookstore; his defense was to blame it on the system. The non-student founder of the obscenitarian movement was also arrested for shoplifting. Guerrilla warfare was waged against small storekeepers, aged landladies, the university's grading system and selective service."

In essence, says Feuer, the advocates of "unfettered" freedoms—both students and the faculty majority—are finding real freedoms disappearing from the campus. Not only do the adherents of the New Left engage in theft and other criminal activities, but they refuse to permit opposing views.



This is a typical scene at the University of California at Berkeley. Prof. Feuer notes that because of such "New Left" activities, professors are leaving Berkeley and student applications are dropping off.

"In Berkeley," notes Feuer, "the supporters of President Johnson's foreign policy are, in effect, denied a forum on the Berkeley campus. The New Left has made it nearly impossible for the national Administration's standpoint to be presented to Berkeley students. This was the effect of the last genuine debate which took place in Berkeley in May 1965, at which Prof. Robert Scalapino and William Bundy defended the Administration policy in Viet Nam against two critics. Although the critics were listened to courteously by Administration supporters, Scalapino and Bundy were almost shouted down."

Feuer says the chief ideologue for the radicals, Stephen Weismann, told John Searle at a public meeting that the students even reserved the right to advocate sending "storm troopers" into the classroom to disrupt them; that the first loyalty was to "The Movement."

"Indeed," writes Feuer, "the first day of the spring semester began precisely with an organized attempt to disrupt the large social science course by forcing the professor in charge, Nathan Glazer, into a confrontation on Viet Nam; when he refused, the principal disrupters, an outside graduate student and a teaching assistant, called excitedly for a walkout. Political dialogue on the Berkeley campus tended to become one between factions of the New Left."

What has happened to the University of California at Berkeley as a result? A process of political selection has gotten under way, with leading moderates and liberals resigning from the university—most notably, Seymour Lipset, director of the Institute for Governmental Studies, Dwight Waldo, director of the Institute for Governmental Studies; and Paul Seabury, a former national officer of the Americans for Democratic Action.

According to a study in progress, says Feuer, the number of tenured professors leaving Berkeley has trebled, with more than 30 resigning this year.

The applications for undergraduate admission for the fall of 1966, Feuer notes, "had dropped by more than 20 per cent, it was announced in February. Whereas 5,048 had applied by January 7 of the previous year, only 3,672 had applied during the present year. . . . Reports from various departments indicated too that the better graduate students were declining to come to the university. Berkeley has entered upon a process of ideological and moral self-differentiation. It may become a university whose tone will be set by students and teachers of the New Left."

In the last reckoning, says Feuer, "the problem of Berkeley is the problem of the American intellectual class itself, its sudden power, affluence, influence and immaturity. Here was the largest aggregation of intellectual force in the United States, yet its dealings with basic political issues were often deflected by a congeries of slogans, fantasies, rancors. A whole group of vaguely conformist leftists were now enjoying a vicarious ideological fling in the form of the New Student Left.

"A cult of youth swept over faculty activists; somehow youth's idealism must have history on its side, even if it went wrong in particular instances. One could not help remembering that German professors in the 1930s had apologized for their Nazi students in precisely this way, with precisely this faith in the redeeming sincerity of youth.

"One also remembered the American fellow-traveling professors in the '30s who had underwritten the idealistic Communist commitment of their students; the Berkeley Faculty Activists were their living replicas, using the same words, expressions and arguments.

"In this sense, the problem of Berkeley is the problem of the American intellectual class. As it grows in power and numbers, wooed alike by the government, foundations, the publishing world, industry and the universities, it demands for itself the privileges and prerogatives of a third chamber of government. It demands that governmental officials be especially accountable to it as the guardians of intellect and knowledge. Yet it has scarcely shown itself to possess the character which its pretensions would require.

"The 20th Century has shown how the intellectual class can become a primary force for an assault on democratic institutions and we may yet witness this phenomenon in America disguised under such slogans as 'participatory democracy.' Bernard Shaw remarks that the most tragic thing in the world is a man of genius who is not also a man of character. This in a sense has been the collective tragedy of Berkeley."

This is the school which, according to Gov. Brown, has no real problems.

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RACES of the WEEK

This is the eleventh installment of our regular pre-election feature, Races of the Week. Each week until Election Day, November 8, *Human Events* will offer as many analyses of key election contests from coast to coast as space permits.

Maine's 1st District

Garland vs. Kyros

Voters in the 1st Congressional District of Maine will have an interesting selection of candidates from whom to choose when they go to the polls in November—a conservative Republican, a down-the-line supporter of the "Great Society" and a far-out peacenik.

The Republican is former Rep. Peter Garland, the regular Democratic nominee is Peter Kyros and the Vietnik is Tom Maynard. The three-way battle should develop into one of the nation's hottest.

Maynard is a leading Maine Democrat—he was the party nominee for the 1st District seat four years ago but was forced out of that race because of illness. He had been nominated on the Democratic ticket for the state house of representatives earlier this year, but withdraw early last month to file for Congress as an independent "anti-war" candidate.

Because of his long affiliation with the Democratic party, Maynard is expected to draw away votes from Kyros, and, indirectly, aid Garland. The GOP nominee is hitting hard at both his opponents.

He denounces Maynard for advocating appeasement, and Kyros for undeviating support of the Administration. Garland cites as the top issues in his campaign "inflation, the high cost of living, soaring interest rates, the Administration's conduct of the "War on Poverty" and the whole field of federal intervention into states' rights."

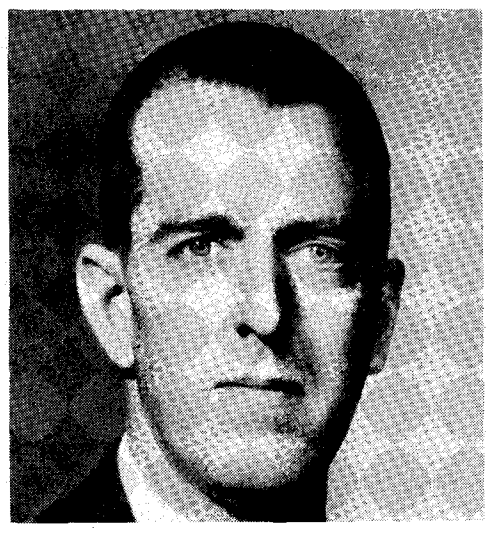
The 42-year-old Garland, an Air Force veteran, was elected to Congress after serving four terms as the mayor of Saco. He established a solid conservative record, serving on the House Education and Labor Committee.

Redistricting then forced Garland into the same district with Rep. Stanley Tupper (R.-Me.) and the latter was nominated for the seat which he has held since then. When Tupper announced earlier this year that he was retiring from Congress, Garland conducted an energetic campaign and won the 1st District nomination. (Garland for Congress Committee: 151B, Main Street, Brunswick.)

Out-of-state labor unions are expected to pour money and manpower into the district to elect Kyros. But the GOP nominee has jostled before with labor fat cats. When Garland first ran, in 1960, organized labor demanded to know if he would work for a "wage equalization bill" to sharply increase the pay of workers at the Portsmouth, Me., naval shipyards.

Garland conceded that the "simplest and most politically expedient thing for me to do would be to say 'yes' and let it go at that. However, I am not that type of person and the problem is nowhere near that simple."

Garland went to the voters and explained that reckless wage boosts could discourage much-needed industrial expansion in southern Maine, that ill-advised pay hikes would be to the long-term detriment of the district. Although the press and many of the advisers predicted disaster for Garland because of his stand, it paid off. He won election by 12,000 votes, ousting a Democratic incumbent, and carried the area in which most of the shipyard workers lived by 2 to 1.



GARLAND

Iowa's 2nd District

Johnson vs. Culver

On April 2, 1965, freshman Rep. John Culver (D.-Iowa) hailed a cab outside a Washington night spot and asked to be driven home. The Iowa lawmaker had been drinking, and promptly fell into "deep sleep," by his own account.

When the driver was unable to rouse his passenger, or get him out of the cab, he drove to a District of Columbia police station for aid. It took five policemen to remove the battling Culver from the cab. The congressman later explained he thought he was being attacked.

When police booked Culver on disorderly conduct charges, the outraged prisoner straightened up and announced that he was a congressman and immune from arrest. The police agreed to drop the charges and Culver personally obliterated his name from the precinct blotter.

The incident received considerable publicity back home and is only one of several reasons Culver is thought to be in serious political trouble. Cedar Rapids Mayor Robert Johnson, a proved vote-getter, has launched a hard-hitting campaign for the Culver seat. (Johnson for Congress Committee: 315 Guaranty Building, Cedar Rapids.)

Johnson has denounced Culver's knee-jerk support of "Great Society" spending (the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* reported that Culver followed White House orders on 92 per cent of the major rollcalls during the first session of the 89th Congress).

Culver served as a legislative assistant to Teddy Kennedy until the 1964 campaign. He then resigned to return to Cedar Rapids, where he had lived briefly, to seek the House seat of Rep. James Bromwell (R.-Iowa). When Lyndon Johnson swept the district by more than 50,000 votes, he carried in Culver by less than 9,000. But LBJ's prestige is not likely to help Culver this November.

Polls indicate that the President's popularity has plummeted throughout Iowa. (According to the Des Moines *Register*, 61 per cent of Iowa voters now disapprove of LBJ's job as President, as opposed to only 25 per cent at the beginning of the year.)

A member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, liberal Democrat Culver has refused to sign the annual declaration of the Committee of One Million opposing diplomatic recognition of Red China. Ironically, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Rep. Thomas Morgan (D.-Pa.), is a Committee of One Million leader.

Culver is an accomplished junketeer who last year used $3,224 in government funds to visit the Philippines, Hong Kong, Viet Nam, Thailand, India, Lebanon and Israel.

JOHNSON

California's 34th District

LaMagna vs. Hanna

California's 34th Congressional District is hardly a liberal stronghold. Barry Goldwater and George Murphy both carried the district two years ago, Murphy with better than 60 per cent of the vote. At the same time, district voters returned Rep. Richard Hanna to Washington for a second term. A glad-handing former state legislator, the 52-year-old Hanna has skillfully portrayed himself as a "middle-of-the-road" Democrat.

A 36-year-old Republian, Frank LaMagna, has launched an ambitious campaign to acquaint voters with Hanna's voting record. Businessman LaMagna concedes that Hanna occasionally announces his opposition to Administration programs, but the GOP nominee cites numerous examples—including the bracero program and the "open housing" section of the civil rights act—where Hanna then neglected to vote. On both occasions Hanna was "paired" in opposition.

LaMagna cites facts and figures to demonstrate that Hanna is no "middle-of-the-roader." During the 88th Congress, for instance, a Washington-based business group gave Hanna a zero per cent rating for economy in government. The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education gave him a 91 per cent "pro-labor" rating. The conservative Americans for Constitutional Action rated him at only 2 per cent.

Hanna has toed the Administration line on aid to education, "area redevelopment," accelerated public works, repeal of 14b, the food stamp program, Rules Committee packing, aid to Communist nations and the "War on Poverty," among others.

Not surprisingly, Hanna has been supported by the far-left California Democratic Council. Hanna, in turn, has endorsed the CDC as "full of highly intelligent people, who are always forward-looking even when they are impractical." "Forward-looking" is hardly the term to describe CDC. The group has gone on record in favor of Viet Nam withdrawal, recognition of Red China, repeal of state loyalty oaths, and abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

LaMagna's campaign quite obviously has Hanna running scared. The two-term congressman has moved over slightly to the right (his interim ACA rating is up to 29 per cent) and has inundated the district with hundreds of thousands of pieces of "non-partisan" campaign-year literature.

Franked envelopes addressed only to "postal patron" or "occupant" offer voters "free" government pamphlets and other benefits. LaMagna has accused Hanna of abusing the franking privilege and notes caustically that the voters are stuck with the tab for their congressman's generosity.

LA MAGNA

LaMagna has ripped Hanna for his cavalier attitude toward government spending. The liberal congressman has put his brother, Bob, on the government payroll at $671 a month and he used taxpayer funds for junkets to Hong Kong, the Philippines, Taiwan, Korea, Japan and Germany. (LaMagna for Congress Committee address: P. O. S368, Santa Ana, Calif. 92702.)

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How Civil Rights Act Would Change Jury System

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

"Pardon me, sir," said the Returning Traveler as he came from the courtroom. "I note that you were serving on the jury, and I'd like to ask. . . ."

"No spika English," said the juror as he hurried away to collect his fee.

"Is it possible?" cried the Traveler, who had been out of the country since passage of Title One, Civil Rights Act of 1966. "A juror has just helped send a man to the federal pen, but he can't speak the language of the land?"

The Traveler was told that Title One, Section 1866, forbids the judge or anybody else from disputing the juror's statement on a questionnaire form that he can read, write, speak and understand the common language. Such skepticism would violate the person's civil rights to serve on juries.

"That's a new wrinkle," declared the Traveler. "Since when does any person have the entitlement to sit on juries? A duty, a privilege, surely—but a civil right to serve?"

He was told that Title One, Section 1861, declares it "the policy of the United States that all qualified persons shall have the opportunity to serve . . . ." Juror No. 1 didn't understand a word that was spoken in court, but Juror No. 2 was an experienced man in courtroom procedures, having done 29 short terms in prison.

"Jailbirds on the jury!" ejaculated the Returning Traveler. "Do you mean to say that a man can have gone to jail even on minor charges, and still be picked to sit in judgment on other citizens?"

Title One, Section 1864, he was patiently told, requires that anybody registered to vote (a previous civil rights bill having enfranchised illiterates and idiots) can be a juror. Only if the voter-registration list can be found to discriminate against you-know-what can any other source be used.

"What about Juror No. 3?" asked the aghast Returning Traveler.

He was told that Juror No. 3 was known in town as Peck's Bad Boy. No citizen in trouble with the law would feel very well protected with Peck's Bad Boy leering at him from the box. But the jury commissioner doesn't know that—because he doesn't come from this town. The Civil Rights Act of 1966 says that the commissioner can come from afar and can set up residence at $50 a day while performing his jury-selection duties. Even Peck's Bad Boy is entitled to his "opportunity" to serve on juries.

"But, surely," said the Returning Traveler, "the remainder of the panel which just sent a man to Leavenworth at the request of the U. S. district attorney—the rest of the panel must be respected, upstanding, independent citizens of this fine community?"

That might be a matter of opinion, the Traveler was told. Juror No. 4 was a girl just past 21, who is known as a flibbertigibbet, and Juror No. 5 is stricken with senility. Neither of them can remember facts from one day to the next. But the Civil Rights Act of 1966 says they shall serve if they can understand facts as presented at the time.

As to the other jurors, they are all acquainted with governmental procedures, since they draw welfare checks for their illegitimate children and retirement checks because of age. The civil rights act, Title One, Section 1861, requires that a jury be "selected from a cross-section of the community." Yes, these are typical Americans after many years under the "Great Society." They may not be much to brag about, but they have got lots of civil rights.

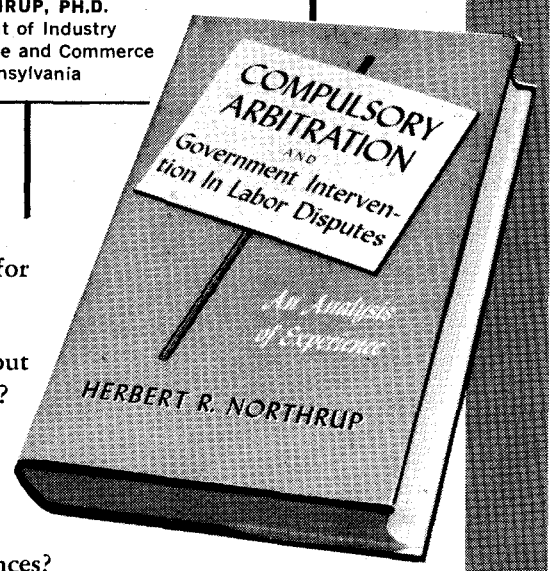
"Rights, rights, rights," cried the Returning Traveler. "Illiterates, jailbirds, nitwits and beneficiaries of the federal government! Are they likely to deny a U. S. district attorney any verdict he asks in the name of the federal government? Where has justice fled?"

The Traveler received no answer.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION
AND
Government Intervention In Labor Disputes

by
HERBERT R. NORTHRUP, PH.D.
Chairman, Department of Industry
Wharton School of Finance and Commerce
University of Pennsylvania



▶ Is there any substitute for strikes?

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Leftists in Riots

Mr. Katzenbach's Astigmatism

By PAUL HARVEY

Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach made an incredibly erroneous statement before a committee of the Congress on August 17:

"There is no indication that these riots were planned, controlled or run by extreme left-wing elements."

That statement ignores irrefutable evidence on his own desk and insults the men who gathered it.

The attorney general named the "agitators" responsible for recent riots as "disease and despair, joblessness and hopelessness, rat-infested housing and long-impacted cynicism."

While the attorney general's astigmatism obviously has resulted in a myopia blurring his vision to the left, I shall name for him some of the other "agitators."

Michael Isaac Lasky, a leader in the Communist Party, U.S.A., in August 1965 urged people of the Watts area of Los Angeles to arm themselves.

During the subsequent Watts riots (March 1966) this same Michael Lasky called his group together to determine how to participate and further encourage rioters. And he was on a Watts street corner—personally—"agitating."

In New York City's race violence which started in Harlem (July 1964) and subsequently spread to the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, the Marxist-Leninist Progressive Labor party, a group which parrots the Red China party line, printed and distributed inflammatory leaflets charging New York police with "murder."

William Epton, admitted Marxist, vice chairman of the Progressive Labor party, was on street corners before and during rioting, preaching violence, saying they were "going to have to kill cops and judges," insisting that "no revolution can be won by peaceful means."

And, Mr. Attorney General, in addition to the agitators "poverty" and "disease," there is Jesse Gray, former organizer of the Harlem region for the Communist Party, U.S.A., who called for "100 skilled revolutionaries ready to die."

In Jersey City's riots (August 1964) Clarence Coggins, admitted Marxist, issued leaflets tending further to inflame the passions of the participants.

During the Chicago riots which began in July 1966 Douglas Andrews was arrested, accused of preparing gasoline bombs for use by rioters. His Revolutionary Action Movement rides the Peking shirttail, advocates that Negroes resort to guerrilla warfare.

Gen. Gordon Baker, Jr., a leader of this RAM in Detroit, was intercepted while headed for a riot area with carbines, rifles, pistols, bayonets.

And before you repeat such a statement, Mr. Attorney General, that "there is no indication these riots were planned," check into the specific activities of the "Black Power" apostles of hatred named by that Cleveland grand jury.

Read the FBI reports available to you on the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs and their activities before and during recent riots.

And, Mr. Attorney General, if you really did mistakenly advise our Congress and our people that "the Communist party has not successfully infiltrated civil rights groups," please correct that unworthy utterance.

A leader wearing blinders has given us a bum steer!

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Will Be Judge's Congressional 'Swan Song'

Rep. Smith Plans to Invoke Little-Used Rule To Force FBI Bill Out of Judiciary Committee

From the Allen-Scott Report

Rep. Howard Smith (D.-Va.), 83-year-old chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee, is preparing a swan song that will be as unusual as it is newsworthy.

Defeated for re-election by a hairline margin in the July primary, Smith, who made his reputation bottling up legislation, plans to invoke a little-used rule to bring directly before the House a unique FBI measure.

This bill, placing authority for naming a successor to FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover directly into the hands of the President, instead of the attorney general as at present, and requiring Senate confirmation of the appointment, has been stalled in the House Judiciary Committee for months.

Sponsored by Senate Republican Leader Everett Dirksen, close friend of Hoover, the legislation was approved by the Senate speedily and virtually without discussion.

But Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), veteran chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, has blocked action, reputedly because Atty. Gen. Katzenbach is against it.

Supporters of Dirksen's measure say they have been unable to ascertain exactly why Katzenbach is opposed to it. They point out that it proposes to enhance the President's authority and not diminish it. It is conceded that the requirement for Senate confirmation does create a potential Senate veto of such an appointment.

But they cite the fact that the Senate exercises such authority over hundreds of presidential appointments, including the head of the CIA, and that adding the director of the FBI to the list would not be breaking new ground.

The idea that a little-used rule be used to "liberate" the FBI bill from Celler's pigeonhole was planted with Rep. Smith by Sen. Dirksen and Rep. Arch Moore (W.Va.), a ranking Republican on the Judiciary Committee.

The two GOP leaders dropped in on Smith to extend condolences on his primary defeat, his first in 35 years in Congress. After reminiscing for a while, Moore brought up the subject of Dirksen's bill, saying, "Judge, we have a legislative problem that only you can solve. We need your help."

Moore and Dirksen then explained how the latter's bill had been speedily approved by the Senate without opposition, only to be shelved by Celler in the Judiciary Committee.

"Celler is refusing to even hold hearings on this bill, although a majority of his committee favors it," said Dirksen. "At least 17 members of his committee are for the measure. But neither Celler nor the attorney general wants to give Congress a voice, through the power of confirmation, in selecting Hoover's successor."

"That is what I suspected," declared Smith, peering over the top of his glasses. "This is an important piece of legislation. It restores power to Congress. I am fully in accord with you that it should be passed."

With Smith making it clearly evident he was heartily on their side, Moore and Dirksen then brought out the clincher.

"Judge, I know of no better swan song than your using your authority as chairman of the Rules Committee to yank this bill away from the Judiciary Committee and bring it directly to the floor of the House," pointed out Moore.

"I haven't the slightest doubt that if the House is permitted to act on this legislation, Sen. Dirksen's bill will be just as overwhelmingly approved as it was in the Senate. And the House's action will be a lasting tribute to you."

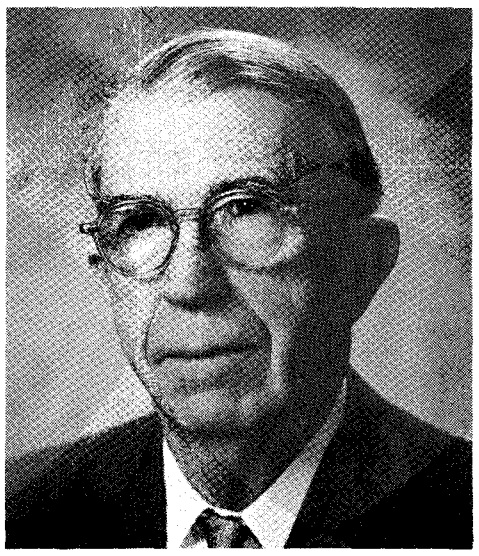
"Of course, you realize the irony of your request," chuckled Smith. "Instead of asking Judge Smith to pigeonhole legislation, you are asking him to pry it out."

"That's about it, Judge," Dirksen grinned appreciatively.

After a long pause, Smith nodded his head and said:

"Since I became Rules chairman in 1955, I have only used that power twice. And both instances involved legislation vital to saving our concept of government. I consider this FBI bill in that category. I will do it."

Meanwhile, the powerful society of former FBI agents is quietly mobilizing its 5,000 members for the slowly developing battle both in Congress and the



House Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith (D.-Va.) wants the Senate to be able to pass on J. Edgar Hoover's successor.

Administration over who will eventually replace Hoover.

While the former G-men are not proposing any one candidate, the society wants Hoover's successor picked from within the ranks of the FBI.

Two bills have been introduced in the House for this purpose. Sponsored by Representatives H. Allen Smith (R.-Calif.) and Samuel Devine (R.-Ohio), the measures would change the existing procedure under which the FBI director is selected by the attorney general. Instead, Hoover's successor would have to come from FBI ranks and be designated by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

In a memorandum to all the members, society president Robert Floyd called on them to contact their congressmen to urge them to support these measures.

Significantly, Floyd's message stresses that Director Hoover authorized the society to state that these bills "appear to have considerable merit."

"The Executive Committee has recommended that you be advised of the concern that these bills will not be reported out of Rep. Emanuel Celler's Judiciary Committee this year unless a great interest is shown by society members and other groups," the memorandum states. "I am authorized to advise that Director Hoover has advised me that he believes the bills appear to have considerable merit."

Hoover has given no hint as to his choice of a successor. However, if the successor is selected from top FBI officials, insiders deem it virtually certain that he will be Cartha DeLoach, an assistant to Hoover.

DeLoach, in his early 40's, is personable, highly intelligent and strongly anti-Communist. A former national vice commander of the American Legion and 1963 American Legion man of the year, he has many friends in Congress and strong backing among the legislators.

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The Thousand Days of LBJ: An Appraisal

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

Lyndon Johnson has now been President more than a thousand days. This is a point of time of some significance, for it is the same time that John F. Kennedy spent in the White House.

What, then, have Johnson's thousand days done to the President's image, compared with the way Kennedy's image developed in the same time span?

The contrast is marked. The Kennedy "legend" not only survives but keeps on developing. The Johnson "legend" has begun to evaporate markedly after a thousand days.

Remember when LBJ was the most effective wheeler-dealer, the smartest gol dang politician ever to be President, the mysteriously effective "consensus" operative, the 20th Century Isaiah of the "let us reason together" soft sell?

What, then, has happened to the once legendary Johnson?

In any analytical estimate, consideration must be given to the possibility he was built up too fast and so had to begin fading before a thousand days had passed.

Equal consideration has to be given to possible flaws in his basic consensus philosophy of how presidential powers should be handled.

Many interpreters of Johnson's efforts to control prices and wages through persuasion have suggested that his consensus has developed a hollow ring. Business is reported uncertain about his intentions. Labor is reported put out, disenchanted because the cost of living has risen while the unions are supposed to adhere to wage guidelines.

Here it is, then, a thousand days after he took office the President finds himself on the defensive on most every issue involving his operations in the center of the nation's power structure.

He has to condone the civil rights demonstrations of this hot summer and only protest, on a persuasive level, their excesses. He has to defend the draft, but promise to have it studied so that inequities can be eliminated. He has to defend his Viet war policies with the knowledge that neither the hawks nor the doves are sure of which direction he is actually moving in.

And he has to make out that Congress, with its overwhelming Democratic majorities, is pretty well doing the Administration's bidding, when everybody knows legislators are off the reservation on almost every pet LBJ issue.

His own party is split wide open, and in a congressional election year. Harry Truman rebukes Lyndon for allowing high interest rates. Many first-term Democratic congressmen hope to be reelected on Bobby Kennedy's coattails, not the President's.

The consensus is suddenly, but positively, in trouble. And all in the space of a few months. Last spring Johnson was a legendary, strong figure—able, it seemed, to move mountains magically—and now he is having trouble with molehills.

In any study of why Kennedy, in his thousand days (so tragically ended with his assassination), developed a lasting image while Johnson is in danger of losing his, the impact of events must be explored.

Kennedy, at his death, had well behind him all the great tests of his presidency. The Bay of Pigs and the Berlin crisis came in his first year in office. His crackdown on Big Steel came in April 1962 and the Cuban missile crisis in October of the same year.

The stock market break under Kennedy came in mid-1962. By November the market had moved up again into the same boom area that has lasted until a few months ago.

The future could never have been brighter for Kennedy than when he left for Texas in November 1963. He looked like a shoo-in for a second term. The economy was booming. Even the off-year elections had been an Administration triumph, the out party failing to make its traditional gains.

What does Lyndon have to look forward to after his thousand days? Almost certainly, significant Republican congressional gains in November. Certainly, a round of wage negotiations in the winter that will further complicate the strained federal effort to keep the boom from over or under-inflating.

In addition, the serious financial problems of the nation's biggest cities, racial problems, war manpower problems that were not foreseen a few months ago when consensus seemed capable of solving any problem, big or little.

The President has said positively that he has a philosophical attitude about his presidential burdens. On his 58th birthday he said as much while philosophizing at his ranch. He was proud of the progress his Administration has made toward the "Great Society." As for being weighed down with problems, he thought he had fewer than the leaders of other nations.

Clearly, he hasn't given up on his cherished consensus, even if other almost equally canny politicians think an agonizing reappraisal of its effectiveness is in order. When the polls show the Johnson image is less appealing than Bobby Kennedy's, it could be wiser to switch than fight, for the next presidential election is less than a thousand days ahead.

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What's So Bad About History as It Happened?

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY, California Superintendent of Public Instruction

George Orwell, that mordant chronicler of the mysterious future, foresaw a day when history would be written up as it should have happened, not as it actually did.

"After all, what is really important is what people *think* took place," one of his characters soliloquized.

So, just see to it that the relatively few writers of history in any generation put down only those past events that tend to justify the current "in" point of view, and hey, presto!, we have a built-in apologia for anything we are doing or may wish to do—from abolishing the gold standard to drafting doctors for Medicare. Our antics are automatically justified by antiquity.

Mr. Orwell put the tentative date for such organized revising of the past at around 1984, but if you ask me, things are moving much more rapidly than he anticipated. The vast shimmering tapestry made up of all our yesterdays is presently undergoing some pretty weird embroidering.

For instance:

I sit on the commission which screens textbooks for the biggest state in the union. Not too long ago, an American history textbook was offered for adoption which described Gen. Eisenhower as skillfully leading United Nations forces into North Africa in 1943. Inasmuch as the United Nations was not permanently chartered until the year 1945, in San Francisco, this blithe juggling with chronology required the reader either to develop convenient amnesia or hop aboard H.G. Wells' time machine.

More recently, writers of schoolbooks have tended to take an increasingly dim view of the 1920-1930 decade. Far from ascribing any roaring qualities to the '20s, our contemporary breed of authors tends to describe them as a sort of historical Slough of Despond, during which all progress came to a standstill and the nation wallowed in sterile reaction. Stock market gambling and organized racketeering are stressed; the doubling and redoubling of our gross national product is glossed over. So are Lindbergh and radio and talking pictures and the Washington Disarmament Conference and a thousand other evidences of yeasty, vital achievement.

Then came the Hungry '30s, and of this era I have plenty of personal recollections. But when I read some of the latest textbooks submitted for my consideration, I have to pinch myself at regular intervals to be sure I'm not reading about some other century.

FDR, it seems, cured that Great Depression all by himself. I could have sworn that when I got out of college in 1938, Old Man Depression was still very much with us. As I recall, there were just about as many unemployed then as there had been when Mr. Roosevelt took over from Mr. Hoover 'way back in 1933. I know. I was one of them.

In fact, it took World War II with its endless demands upon our factories and our granaries to dust the cobwebs off the wheels of industry and set them humming once again. One tragedy was ended by another, greater one. But the politicians had little to do with it, though you'd never guess it by reading some of the latest manuscripts which come across my desk.

I guess I'm getting just a little tired of today's historians second-guessing the past instead of just telling us what happened.

So we declared war on Spain in 1898. Don't tell us how bloodily imperialistic we were. Let us figure it out.

So we sent marines to Haiti 40 years ago to keep the voodooistic islanders from butchering one another, just as we may have to do again in the '60s to rid that unhappy land of the unspeakable Duvalier and his bully boys. You don't have to tut-tut loftily about gunboat diplomacy. The kids will interpret straight history, if you'll just give it to them straight.

As Sergeant Friday was wont to say: "All I want are the facts, ma'am."

And, confound it! when I read a history of the United States, I want to know exactly what went on, not what the author in his infinite wisdom thinks should have been going on.

If the present trend continues, our grandchildren are liable to be reading in school about how Norman Thomas founded the "Great Society."

Not that he couldn't have.

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Quotes from Instruction Leaflet

How the Peaceniks Try to Beat the Draft

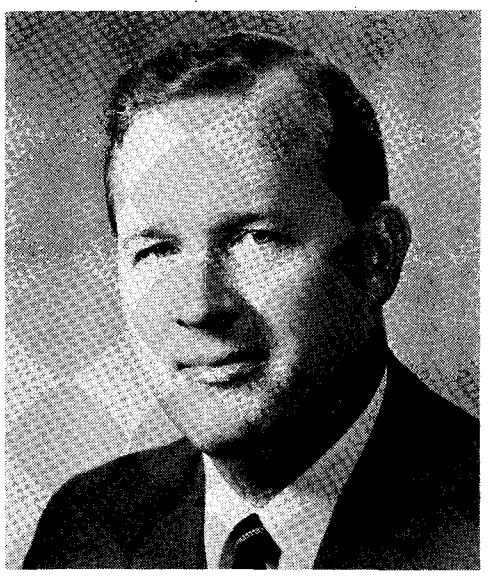
Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) has sent to the Justice Department a leaflet distributed by California peaceniks which includes detailed instructions on "beating" the draft. The Ohio lawmaker believes leaders of the Viet Nam Day Committee—who handed out the broadside—may well have violated federal law by counseling defiance of the Selective Service System.

The leaflet, widely circulated by the VDC at the University of California at Berkeley, includes the following suggestions on how to avoid military service:

• "Be a conscientious objector. Write your local draft board requesting the special C. O. Form SSS 150. Now, if you don't have religious or philosophical reasons that cause you to be against war 'in any form,' don't let it bother you. Mark 'yes' on that question anyway. . . .

• "Be 'gay.' Play the homosexual bit. Mark 'yes' or don't mark the 'homosexual tendencies' line on forms . . . . Besides flicking your wrist, move your body like chicks do—hold cigarette delicately, talk melodically, act embarrassed in front of the other boys when you undress. . . .

• "Note from doctor. If you have a 'friendly' family doctor or can buy one, you'll find he's extremely handy. Get a signed note from him attesting to an allergy, a trick knee or elbow or shoulder or back trouble or asthma . . . . Without a doctor's note, you'll have to do a pretty good job faking these things. Certain chemicals will temporarily induce allergies—see your chemist.



Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) thinks federal law may have been violated.

• "Be an epileptic. Borrow the standard epileptic medal from a friend and wear it. . . . If you want to have some fun, read about it and fake a seizure. It's fun and you'll really give them a headache.

• "Play psycho. . . . Arrive drunk . . . .

• "Arrive high [on drugs]. . . . If you want to go about the addiction scene in a really big way, use a common pin on your arm for a few weeks in advance. Check with your friends who 'shoot' to see if the marks look good; then you'll have no trouble convincing the doctors.

• "Be an undesirable. Go for a couple of weeks without a shower. Really look dirty. Stink. . . .

• "Don't do anything right. Forget instructions, don't follow orders, and generally do just about everything wrong. . . .

• "Be a troublemaker. Refuse to follow orders. (You don't have to; you're not in the Army). Let them know exactly what you think of them. Be antagonistic; smoke where the signs say No Smoking. Pick a fight with a fellow inductee, or better yet—one of the officers or doctors."

If all this fails, and the young man is inducted into the Army, the pamphlet urges further defiance: "Really screw up the works. Tell your buddies about the scene in Viet Nam. They'll listen to you; you're one of them. Use the base bulletin boards for posting official-looking leaflets about the whole military mess. Please be careful. If you want to be effective at this, you can't be caught."

Protecting Personal Privacy

Beyond Big Brother's Eye

From the Richmond *News Leader*

It probably has come too late in this session to have much hope of passage, but a bill just introduced by North Carolina's able Sen. Sam Ervin merits the strongest praise. At a time when Big Brother seems to be peering ever more intently into the lives of American citizens, Sen. Ervin proposes to mark off a few small areas and declare them out of bounds.

The senator's object is to protect the personal privacy of the 2.5 million men and women who work for the federal government. His bill is a start, at least, toward protecting the privacy of all the rest of us.

In recent years persons applying for employment in the federal service have been subjected to an increasing barrage of impertinent forms and questionnaires. These harassments have not been universally applied, it is true, and congressional criticism has caused some of the worst of them to be withdrawn, but the practice continues nonetheless.

In many instances applicants have been compelled to take a "personality inventory test," containing questions of the most personal nature about the applicant's sexual and religious attitudes. In other instances, employes have been required to make disclosures of their personal finances, far beyond any reasonable inquiries into possible conflicts of interest.

Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N. C.) has bill for federal employes that may help protect privacy of all citizens.

In an effort to remedy the situation, Ervin has offered a bill of rights for federal workers. Thirty-three senators have joined him, among them Virginia's Sen. Byrd. Their measure would write into law nearly a dozen specific prohibitions against invasion of an employe's privacy and personal rights.

The bill would prohibit any requirement that an applicant or employe reveal his national origin, race, or religion; it would prohibit indiscriminate inquiries into personal finances; it would ban psychological and polygraph tests, except where the nature of the position clearly demanded such examinations.

The bill would put an end to one of Washington's more outrageous political harassments, by which an employe is virtually compelled to buy savings bonds or to purchase tickets to political fund-raising dinners. Finally, the bill would guarantee certain rights of counsel and confrontation when charges are brought that might lead to dismissal.

Oddly enough, the highly liberal Washington Post is opposing the Ervin bill, largely because of a sort of racism in reverse.

The *Post* fears that Ervin's measure is no more than a slick piece of Southern shenanigans, designed to reduce the number of Negroes working for the federal government by prohibiting racial identifications. This is a fantasy that has not impressed such non-Southerners as Fong, Bayh, Hruska, Tydings, Dirksen, Mundt, Muskie and Saltonstall, all of whom are numbered among the sponsors.

As Sen. Ervin himself acknowledges, his bill needs some refinement. The government must retain the power to inquire into the emotional stability of, say, an air traffic controller.

Obvious areas of potential conflicts of interest must be left open to inquiry. But in Ervin's view, "these ends can be achieved in a manner consistent with traditional standards of due process, fairness and equity which have always been inherent in our system of government." And once they are achieved for federal employes, a foundation will have been laid for congressional review of some of the census and tax forms that now demand of a citizen more than he really wants his government to know.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

Keynes' Danger

By REP. THOMAS B. CURTIS (R.-Mo.)

The more I have studied the Administration's programs of war against poverty at home and abroad, the more I have concluded that their basic flaw lies in their acceptance of what today is called Keynesian economics, a definite improvement over Marxian economics, I would say, but still basically unsound because it too accentuates the negatives in a society rather than the positives; the failures, not the successes. I recall a few years back during one of four post-World War recessions when I was selected by the Republicans to address "the jobless marchers on Washington," led by the AFL-CIO; Lyndon Johnson, then a U.S. senator, spoke for the Democrats. Sen. Johnson said, "When I leave this meeting I am going right back to the Senate and introduce a bill to create a congressional commission to go to these areas of chronic unemployment to see what we can do for them."

I responded by saying, "I think the idea of a study commission is excellent, but I would suggest that the commission go to those areas which do not have chronic unemployment, the areas of success, because here I think we are more apt to find the answers which will help those who are in trouble to overcome their problems."

The Keynesian approach relies upon increased government spending to keep up aggregate demand in the society and, the Keynesians argue, if aggregate demand is kept up unemployment will disappear. I agree that one can get roast pork by burning down the barn, but I argue there are better ways of getting roast pork and we do not have to destroy the structure to get it. Having the government continue to keep the economy heated up by increasing its expenditures whenever the economic advisers think the economy is getting into trouble, badly weakens the discipline needed if expenditure programs are to be efficiently planned and administered.

Ask Lyndon

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Congress has authorized another huge, multi-billion-dollar foreign aid program, included in which is provision for hundreds of millions of dollars to be "loaned" to foreigners. And, believe it or not, although American taxpayers who put up this money are faced with bone-chilling high interest rates when they have to borrow, foreigners will get their money at an interest rate of 2.5 per cent! And for the first 10 years of a 40-year loan, foreigners will pay only 1 per cent interest for the use of your money! The next time you have to borrow some money it might be interesting to write President Lyndon B. Johnson at the White House (weekend address, Johnson City, Tex.), and ask him how you can make application for a loan at these rates.

House Reverses Prior Wage Bill Stand, 183-163

Following is the 183-to-163 rollcall vote by which the House on September 7 refused to put off until 1969 the effective date of the second step increase in the minimum wage, which will raise it to $1.60. Although the House had voted earlier to make 1969 instead of 1968 the effective date, the Senate voted for 1968 and last week's rollcall reversed the prior House stand. A "nay" vote endorses the 1968 date and supports the Administration. Following this vote, the entire minimum wage bill was passed, 259 to 89. Of the 89 members who voted "no" on final passage, 88 are indicated by asterisks in the rollcall below. (Pool of Texas was the 89th.)

DEMOCRATS FOR: 62

Abbitt*
Abernethy*
Andrews, George*
Ashmore*
Beckworth
Bennett
Burleson*
Callan
Casey*
Colmer*
de la Garza
Dorn*
Dowdy*
Downing*
Everett
Flynt*
Fountain*
Gathings*
Greigg
Haley*
Hardy*
Hays
Henderson*
Hull*
Ichord
Jarman*
Jennings
Jones (N.C.)*
Kornegay*
Lennon*
McMillan*
Mahon*
Marsh*
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Passman
Poage*
Purcell*
Redlin
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield*
Secrest
Selden*
Smith (Va.)*
Stalbaum
Steed
Stephens*
Stubblefield*
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)*
Tuck*
Waggonner*
Walker (N.M.)
Watts*
White (Tex.)
Whitener
Whitten*
Wright

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Adair
Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews (N.D.)
Arends
Ashbrook*
Ayres*
Bates
Belcher*
Berry
Betts*
Bolton
Bray*
Brock*
Broomfield
Brown, Clarence*
Broyhill (N.C.)
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Dague*
Davis (Wis.)*
Derwinski
Dickinson*
Dole*
Duncan (Tenn.)*
Edwards (Ala.)*
Ellsworth
Erlenborn
Findley*
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Goodell
Gross*
Grover
Gubser
Gurney*
Hall*
Halleck
Hansen (Idaho)*
Harsha
Harvey (Ind.)*
Harvey (Mich.)
Hutchinson*
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas*
Keith
Kunkel*
Langen*
Latta
Lipscomb*
McClory*
McCulloch
McEwen
MacGregor
Martin (Neb.)*
May
Michel
Mize
Moore
Morton
Nelsen*
Pirnie
Poff*
Quie
Quillen*
Reid (Ill.)*
Reifel
Reinecke
Rhodes (Ariz.)*
Robison
Roudebush*
Rumsfeld*
Schneebeli
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)*
Smith (N.Y.)
Springer
Stanton
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)*
Utt*
Walker (Miss.)*
Watkins*
Watson*
Whalley
Wyatt
Younger

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 165

Adams
Addabbo
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Barrett
Bingham
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brooks
Brown (Calif.)
Burke
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Celler
Chelf*
Clark
Clevenger
Conyers
Corman
Craley
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
Delaney
Dent
Denton
Dingell
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Duncan (Oreg.)
Dyal
Edwards (Calif.)
Fallon
Farbstein
Farnsley
Farnum
Fascell
Flood
Fogarty
Foley
Ford, William D.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Grabowski
Gray
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths
Hagen (Calif.)
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hechler
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Hungate
Huot
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Keogh
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Krebs
Long (Md.)
Love
McDowell
McFall
McGrath
McVicker
Macdonald
Machen
Mackay
Mackie
Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Minish
Mink
Moeller
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Moss
Murphy (Ill.)
Nedzi
Nix
O'Brien
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Powell
Price
Pucinski
Race
Randall
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers (Alaska)
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan
Roncalio
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St. Onge
Scheuer
Schmidhauser
Shipley
Sickles
Sisk
Slack
Staggers
Stratton
Sullivan
Sweeney
Tenzer
Thomas
Thompson (N.J.)
Todd
Trimble
Tunney
Udall
Vanik
Vigorito
Vivian
Waldie
Weltner
Wolff
Yates
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 18

Bell
Cahill
Conte
Dwyer
Fulton (Pa.)
Halpern
Horton
Kupferman
McDade
Mailliard
Morse
Pelly
Reid (N.Y.)
Saylor
Schweiker
Stafford
Widnall
Wydler

ANSWERED "PRESENT": 3

Edmondson
King (Utah)*
White (Idaho)

NOT VOTING: 83

'Demonstration Cities'

Slogans Won't Solve Problems

By REP. CHARLES GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

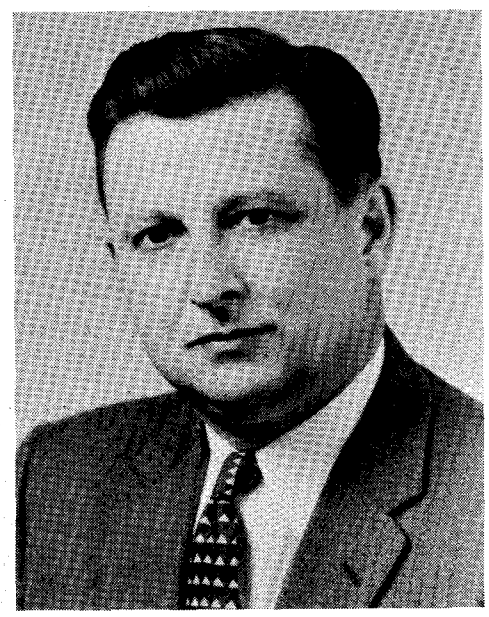
The current political vogue is to find a popular slogan with humanitarian appeal and pass a law around it. The laws never seem to work, but do provide the basis of campaign oratory.

Sen. Robert Kennedy, obviously running hard for the presidency, has taken the lead in the latest slogan contest designed to save our cities. With Sen. Ribicoff he recently summoned mayors of large cities as if they were errant school boys. Mayor John Lindsay of New York was reluctant to guess how much money New York City would need from the federal government but Sen. Kennedy pressed the issue and finally the mayor "guessed" it would take $50 billion in the next decade. Immediately Sen. Kennedy took the mayor to task for such grandiose notions. But a few days earlier, he had chastised the Johnson Administration for its "drop in the bucket" expenditures upon city problems.

It is evident that cities are a coming political issue. A massive legislative program is inevitable and the Demonstration Cities Program appears to be the opener.

Legislation to create demonstration cities may have some merit but the bill which will soon be before the House is almost unbelievable. It authorizes $900 million for a Demonstration Cities Program but does not designate where the demonstrations will be. It does, however, list 52 separate "pork barrel" projects in various congressional districts. Thanks to Sen. Sparkman, a key member of the Senate committee which considered the bill, the University of Alabama is eligible to receive $100 million.

As a practical matter, it would impose a metropolitan system of government. No federal grants for hospitals, urban renewal, public housing, community development, etc., could be made to any city unless those grants were approved by a metropolitan planning commission.

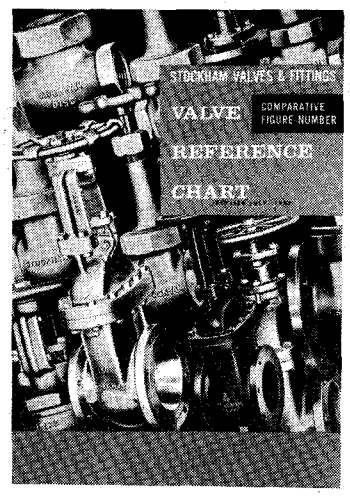


Rep. Gubser wonders if cities are about to receive the same "help" the farmers have gotten.

Urban Redevelopment now requires that local governments pay 25 per cent of the cost of urban renewal projects. Under the Demonstration Cities Program 80 per cent of the local share would be assumed by the federal taxpayer. So, in effect, the federal share would be increased from 75 to 95 per cent in urban renewal projects. This amounts to a federal subsidy to encourage taking a subsidy and is a candid admission that federal grants and federal programs have failed to solve city problems.

Cities undoubtedly do need help, but I hope they will not get the same kind of help which farms have gotten. In the '30s, depression and dust storms showed the nation the desolation on the farm. So federal programs to help the farmer began. The result was that farm people left the farm, went to the city, caused the current urban problem, and were replaced in the country by big business—commonly called "agribusiness."

If there is a moral to this story it is this: If a human problem is to be solved, it takes something more than a bill with a fancy title.



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What the Big Stock Market Bear Decline Is Trying to Say

In January this column asked, "What happens if President Johnson gets a bear market on his hands?" and added that "the advancing market can fall like Roscoe, the 1,200-pound diving horse at Atlantic City."

It has.

Specialty stocks sparkled in the enormous volume. But many of the really great, sober investment equities like AT&T, Standard Oil of New Jersey, General Motors, etc., held throughout the world, were quietly, oh, so quietly, faltering or going down.

These began the market's advance in the summer of 1962 and, underneath all the glitter and distractions, this warning was fundamental. It seemed tragically plain, as stated in January, that we were in for "a grim surprise." And when a shot like this decline is fired, no one can tell how far the sound is going to carry or what may be the echoes from it.

Bear markets feed on themselves like fire feeds on dry wood, and nothing could be more foolhardy than to claim their effect is not important.

What we're seeing today is the predictable aftermath of what both President Kennedy and President Johnson called "myths." The chickens of the New Frontier and "Great Society" have come home to roost—coincident with the growth of the Viet Nam war.

Their policies were politically profitable, but they were sure to create or compound exactly the problems that have resulted. Yet they called these future problems a "myth."

The inflation, a mounting gold crisis, the ultimate spiraling cost of living with its accompanying labor unrest, today's taxation struggle and the $1-billion-a-month cost of the debt—each of these results was foreseeable and not a "myth." So was the fact that the combination of them would create a vicious circle, and it has.

Today's interest rates? On Oct. 15, 1965, this column reported that President Johnson called some key bankers to an off-the-record White House dinner. He told them interest rates must stay down. But the largest underlying pressure forcing them upward was then, and remains today, the immense and continuing borrowings by our overextended government itself.

Mr. Johnson left that question in the White House deep-freeze, and still leaves it there.

Meanwhile, Viet Nam war or no Viet Nam war, Mr. Johnson and the Congress—one day it's one, the next day it's the other—continue to shun priorities in spending our money.

What the stock market is saying is that, after the debt and spending splurge, this prepares us badly for an uncertain future.

We face at least four great confrontations. Each represents an unlimited commitment, and the United States does not hold the initiative in controlling the demands of any of them:

1. The merciless certainty that the Sino-Soviet menace will continue indefinitely, along with its tremendous annual cost.

2. The long-range potential of our Southeast Asia land war.

3. The protection of the U.S. dollar and British pound (indivisible) in our gold crisis.

4. The potential confrontation of the business cycle. What happens if the "myth" of business cycles again proves not to be a "myth" at all? Where would not a depression but even a perfectly normal, orthodox recession leave us with our unlimited commitments?

Nevertheless, within the past few weeks President Johnson catapulted onto the TV screens his White House economic advisers Messrs. Ackley, Duesenberry and Okun, the Three Blind Mice. They tried to pooh-pooh the stock-market fall. They would have been wiser to have faced realities. Moreover, long-term government bonds are now at their lowest in 40 years. Doesn't that mean anything either?

Among other warnings, the market is asking Washington to quit its Alice in Wonderland economics and clambake accounting, stop the deficits and quit talking about a tax increase when the unnecessary government spending should be stopped instead, and to quit destroying confidence by playing politics with the peoples' substance and savings while there is still time to turn onto a sober, intelligent course.

History, too, is asking our political masters to remember something—and this may be the most effective alarm clock of all: No administration has ever been re-elected in a bear market.

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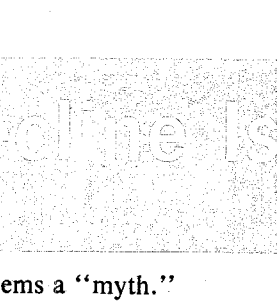
"GREAT SOCIETY" SETBACK?—"Under rosiest of circumstances the Democrats could lose a score of House seats, through redistricting and defaulting incumbents [in the November elections] and still not suffer mortal aftereffects. A loss of much more than that—and some responsible Administration officials predict a 35-seat drop—would leave the Democrats a token majority, but would in fact dissolve Johnson's operating leverage in Congress and imperil the funding and expansion of the 'Great Society.' If, as some optimistic Republicans speculate, the voters renounce the freshman Democrats, and Johnson's net loss runs as high as 45 seats, the nation can anticipate a GOP resurgence with the balance shifting on Capitol Hill. The Republican party will have blood in its eye for 1968. And for Lyndon Johnson the result will mean a sharp—possibly fatal—setback in his 'Great Society' timetable."—By Lansing Lamont in *Fortune* magazine

BLACK and CONSERVATIVE



The Autobiography of Negro conservative George S. Schuyler

Who said that all Negroes are poor . . . uneducated . . . "dangerous"? Who said no Negro will help himself without massive injections of federal aid from the "Great Society"? Who said there is no Negro middle class in America . . . or that there are no wealthy Negroes?

Above all, WHO SAID that Negroes — rich or poor — welcome the "pity pitch" that white Liberals have been handing out for years with cruel indifference to the fact that they are castrating Negro self-respect as they endlessly cry out, "Human rights! Human rights!"

BLACK AND CONSERVATIVE IS A SELECTION OF THE CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

"The welfare of Negroes is primarily the responsibility of Negroes".—George S. Schuyler

George S. Schuyler, successful journalist and the author of BLACK AND CONSERVATIVE, is the embodiment of a large and important segment of middle-class America: the successful, comfortable American Negro family. His new book presses hard for an answer to this: *"Why has the Liberal press rendered millions of successful Negroes completely invisible?* Why have the networks failed to acknowledge *this* part of our Negro population? People who want no government handouts . . . need no charity. Negro people who, without sit-ins and marches and bloody riots, have long ago shown that they can be as 'equal' as anybody."

Though BLACK AND CONSERVATIVE is autobiographical, its importance lies well beyond the fact that it is the engaging life story of a courageous newspaperman with an unpopular cause. Schuyler's experiences over the last four decades — first in the Socialist movement and then (as the folly of this cause revealed itself) as an ardent conservative and anti-Communist — are filled with important data that no American should be without.

He takes us back to the early days of the Socialist movement in America, and to the spreading infection of Communist thought in education and government during the 30's. But he *also* reveals the ways in which energetic Negroes have long been able to rise and flourish in "whitey's" world — without handouts. As a newspaper man, he is wonderfully adept at bringing to life key moments . . . key events . . . and key *people*, both on the left and right, who helped set the stage for today's world. You get important insights into men like *Harry Bridges . . . Roy Wilkins . . . Louis Budenz . . . Ralph Bunche . . .* John Chamberlain . . . Victor Lasky . . . Eugene Lyons . . . Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. . . . Norman Thomas . . . and many others.

The Negro Revolution

On this anguished issue, George Schuyler's is a voice of sanity. No Uncle Tom, he refuses to blink away the burdens of discrimination; and his words carry weight because he speaks without bitterness . . . because he is anxious to *defend* American society, not tear it down.

Schuyler heaps scorn on professional agitators, whom he labels self-serving, with a "vested interest in disaster". He charges that the Negro Revolution is inspired by Communists and other collectivists, backed by a horde of Liberal apologists.

Above all, he pleads for patience, doesn't look for "instant perfection", maintains that America is dealing with its racial problems far more generously than any other nation. In a telling point, Schuyler cites the "revolution of rising expectations" as proof that American Negroes have not only been making rapid strides for decades; they *know* it. And that is precisely why they have expectations that Negroes elsewhere wouldn't dream of.

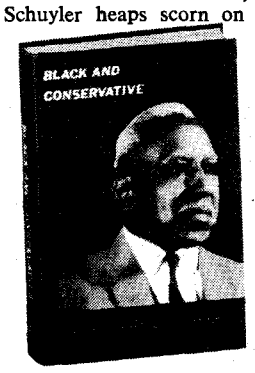
Hundreds of Vitally Important HARD FACTS Fill This Revealing Book:

- **Why the Negro Press began swallowing the Communist line as far back as the 30's.**
- **Communist fronts aimed at Negroes in the Red Decade.**
- ***The role of Robert C. Weaver, now LBJ's man in HUD.***
- **The deliberate myths attached to overcrowding in Harlem . . . and the myths about universal Negro self-hatred.**
- **How Socialist clothing unions preached brotherhood—and barred Negroes.**
- **Schuyler blows the whistle on W.E.B. DuBois.**
- **The origin of the slogan, "We shall overcome".**
- **Surprising facts about the mixed feelings of Negroes on miscegenation.**

Risk-Free Examination

Sound like a refreshing book? Indeed it is, and heartening. George Schuyler is living proof that a Negro need not feel alienated in his native land. If his voice is a lonely one today, this book will tell other responsible Negroes that they are not alone — and remind whites that they must reach out to men like George Schuyler.

May we send you a copy of BLACK AND CONSERVATIVE? Unless you agree the book is valuable and important, your inspection will cost you nothing. Simply mail the coupon below with $5.95. After two weeks, you may, if you wish, return the book for any reason and receive a full refund (including extra money to cover your return postage). But we're quite sure you're going to want to keep it. Mail to your bookseller or: Arlington House, 81 Centre Avenue, New Rochelle, New York 10801.



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